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THE AMERICAN

JOURNAL OF LITERATURE, SCIENCE, THE ARTS, AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

VOL. XIX.—No. 499.

PHILADELPHIA, SATURDAY, MARCH 1, 1890.

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## THE AMERICAN

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# THE AMERICAN.

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PHILADELPHIA, SATURDAY, MARCH 1, 1890.

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## REVIEW OF THE WEEK.

THE duty on steel rails is \$17.50 a ton. They are selling in England for \$36.75 a ton. The American price, therefore, must be \$55.25 a ton, according to Mr. Cleveland's logic, which shows that the "duty is added to the price." As a matter of fact the American price is \$36 a ton, or seventy-five cents less than in England. Just at present there is a run on England for rails for her foreign customers, and the price has been put up accordingly. Had we been among her dependents, it would have been put still higher than it is. All the world is getting steel rails cheaper because we developed our natural resources for making them. For, as Stephen Colwell said in 1848, the price at which England furnishes any article depends upon the amount of the demand much more than upon the cost of production, and the more you are dependent upon her, the higher the price she will ask.

The Free Traders manage to draw an argument from every situation for lowering the Tariff. When there was a margin of difference between our rails and those of England on the other side, then the duty must be lowered to make rails cheaper to the American consumer. Now that our rails are cheaper than English, the duty must be lowered because the comparison of prices shows that no Protection is needed. This assumes the continuance of the present prices in England for an indefinite time, whereas everybody who has watched the market knows that it is just such a spurt as she had in iron in 1870, when she doubled the price of that metal in the face of a sudden and general demand. A year ago English steel rails of the grade we use sold for \$21.75 a ton, and before another year they may be as cheap again. Now a duty of \$10 a ton is not sufficient protection when prices run down to this figure, even although it is not true that the whole amount of this duty could be added to the price of the American rails, as thorough Free Traders argue. In fact there is no good reason for a large reduction of the duty, and the Republican party stands committed to no such reduction by the position taken by the party and its spokesmen during the last campaign. The Senate's Tariff bill contained no such proposal, and it is astonishing to hear that Republican members of the Ways and Means Committee have been inclined to make the reduction.

SEVERAL recent incidents seem to indicate a revival of the Plantation Age,—or at least an attempt to revive it. The murder of the deputy marshal in Florida is one, the manner in which allusions to it are met by Mr. Call, the Florida Senator, is another; and a third is a declaration by a member of the Virginia Legislature in a speech in that body, that the State militia should be kept at the highest point of efficiency, in order to protect Virginia against the national authority! Mr. Call's conduct in the Senate, this week, has been outrageous; his language to Mr. Chandler, of New Hampshire, has been precisely that which used to be heard, before the war, when the Plantation members put themselves at the front. It is said that Mr. Call considers that this will insure his reelection to the Senate, (his term expires in 1891), and if so, this would explain with sufficient clearness both the murder of the marshal and the omission to arrest the murderers, though it would be that much more of a blot on the fame of Florida.

Meanwhile, it is to be noted that the Legislature of Mississippi has negatived, by a fair majority, the proposal to memorialize Congress in favor of the repeal of the Fifteenth Amendment. So that match didn't kindle.

THE address of Mr. George W. Cable, before one of the Boston clubs, on Saturday evening, is a new contribution of honor by

this courageous and generous Southern student to the solution of Southern difficulties. He addresses himself to the theory that pure government can be built on the ruins, or in the absence of, free government, and he points out the lamentable and absurd failure of such a reversal of the methods of justice and logic. His address is calm, philosophical, and searching; it bears directly upon the nerve of the subject; and no greater service could be rendered the country than the adoption of its sound and just principles by those who are now endeavoring to turn back to old conditions, to degrade men who have been emancipated and enfranchised, and to rekindle the baleful fires of race proscription. As Mr. Cable shows, there is no reason for this,—it has no justification whatever in the actual conditions of the case. The negroes are at work, and willing to work; they are endeavoring to improve their condition, in every way that is open to them; they are ready to join in making honest and pure government whenever they are assured that their civil and political rights are safe; they are, in fine, not justly chargeable with any offense or any defect upon which to found the decree of Caste and Oppression that they shall be stripped of the rights which men of a different complexion demand and fully enjoy.

No doubt, Mr. Cable's address will be printed and circulated. It will be a valuable contribution to the enlightenment of the public mind and the awakening of the country's conscience.

IN the debate on the Blair bill the opposition comes mostly from certain Southern Senators, who are distressed by its unconstitutionality. They think it another Republican device for diminishing the authority of the State governments by getting education sooner or later under national control. It was not the opinion of Thomas Jefferson that education is a matter in which the Federal Government has no interest. One of his favorite plans was to have a great national University placed by Congress at the seat of government, and in our own time this proposal was revived by Mr. Lamar, when he was Secretary of the Interior. Nor do we remember any of the States which shared in previous grants for the promotion of education in general or of agricultural education in particular making any objections to taking their slice of the public domain. It is only when the education of the illiterate voters into intelligence is proposed, and that by the machinery created by the States themselves, that we hear that grants for education are not within the power of Congress. Do these Senators fear lest the people become too intelligent to support them and their party? Or do they think with the French conservative, that "brains are always in the way of sound ideas in politics"?

SENATOR PADDOCK of Nebraska has introduced a bill to "amend" the Inter-State Commerce Law by abolishing the "Long and Short Haul Clause" so far as the farmers of the West are concerned. He finds the railroads declaring that they cannot give those farmers lower freight rates on the hauling of their crops to the Eastern sea-board, as this would disarrange the charges on short hauls and local traffic, on which they always have depended for most of their income. So Mr. Paddock proposes that the Commissioners shall be allowed to set aside that clause in the case of articles which are the necessities of life, when they find that those articles cannot be taken to the market otherwise. Taking this language strictly, it could apply only to the case of famine, as in the absence of the actual want of food in the east of Europe, there is no evidence that the situation specified exists. Either the grain of the West does reach its destination in spite of the higher rates; or it is not a necessary of life to those whom it does not reach. As everybody knows, the former is the

fact, but the cost of transportation under the new law is so much increased as to diminish the profits of both the farmer and the middleman. And this is just. The price of Western wheat was forced down to Eastern consumers by the cheap rates, to the great injury of the Eastern farmer, at whose expense it was done. Every bushel of wheat sent from an Eastern farm by rail to the market helped to pay the cost of transporting another bushel from the West to compete with it. As a consequence grain-growing in the East became a losing business, and the farmer who had paid from fifty to two hundred dollars an acre for his farm, and was paying taxes proportionately high, was subjected to the most unfair competition from those who had paid from \$37 to \$46 for a homestead of 160 acres, and had had their railroads endowed by the Government out of the public domain. It now is time for the farmer of the East to have his turn; and if the Western farmer is going to compete with him under the palpable equity of the law as it is, he must do it by abolishing the profits of the middlemen, and dealing directly with the consumer.

MR. WINDOM has been before the House Committee on Coinage to explain and defend his proposed bill for the issue of silver certificates at the current price of that metal. He declared that it was his chief purpose to find in these certificates a substitute for the national bank currency, as this was being retired by the payment of the national debt. In our view this is one of the worst objections to his plan. In the place of a paper currency already excessively centralized in the wealthier States, he wishes to give the country one which will be centralized at the few points where there is a sub-treasury. Mr Windom also hopes that his measure will help to retrieve the fortunes of silver, and to improve the condition of Agriculture by raising the prices of farm products, in accordance with the English theory that ampler currency will force prices up. As this notion has been exploded to demonstration by Tooke and Newmarch in their monumental "History of Prices and of Currency in England," it is rather unfortunate to have it held out to our farmers as the road out of their difficulties.

To the objection that the measure treats silver as a commodity, and thus degrades it from its rank as money, Mr. Windom responded by the offer to make the bill apply equally to both metals. As for the objection that it would make us the dumping-ground for all the loose silver of the world, and would not apply only to the products of our own mines, he thought it would suffice to make it the business of the custom-houses to stamp every bar of imported silver with the word "Foreign," and to impose a heavy penalty on refiners and smelters who should melt down such bars without thus restamping them, if they were again cast as bars. We do not see how this could be worked. Why not forbid the importation of silver altogether, as our home supply is ample for all our needs? Or why not have all our own silver stamped in bar by the mints, as is done with English silver-ware at the Silversmiths' Hall, in London?

To the objection that the power to suspend the issue of certificates would enable the Secretary of the Treasury to affect the bullion market for speculative purposes, Mr. Windom very properly replied that the Bland Bill conferred on him even greater power by allowing him to vary his purchases from two to four millions a month. And he might have added that any wise fiscal legislation must proceed upon the supposition that the Secretary of the Treasury is an honest man, and that the President and the Cabinet will exercise over him all the restraint that is necessary. At what time has it been possible for the Secretaries to abuse the power they already possess in this matter of influencing the price of Silver?

THE Secretary of the Treasury has resolved to take the control of Immigration into the hands of national authority. Castle Garden is to cease to be the grand receptacle for the hastening myriads of Europe, and the State Commissioners who control it

will find their occupation gone. This is a change for the better, but it should not be made without the amplest preparation to undertake for the immigrants all that has been done for them at Castle Garden. It will not do for us to go no farther than to ascertain that the immigrants who are landed at New York are such as our laws allow to come. Most of them require protection and direction with regard to their destination. Very few of them have an idea of the size and the character of the country, or know how to get to the places to which their desires or their capacity would incline them. The numbers who get no farther than New York are likely to be unduly increased by leaving them at the mercy of the land sharks, who used to throng Castle Garden itself.

It is even more important for the country that the business of converting this raw material into American citizens should be kept under the national control. In many of the State courts this is done with a shameful carelessness, and men who do not know that this is a Republican country, or that it has a written constitution, are ground through in batches, although the national law requires the judges to satisfy themselves that the applicant for naturalization "is well affected to the Government of the United States." Where was that clause when the German Socialists and Anarchists were worked up into American citizens?

THERE is a general feeling that Chicago's prize is very much in the nature of a white elephant. The difficulties in its way, aside from the shortness of the time for preparation, are great. It certainly would have been easier to persuade European exhibitors to send consignments to New York, as not only a city on the very sea-coast, but one with which they have so many connections on the ordinary lines of business. And it remains to be seen if the local pride of the Chicagoans will be equal to the strain the Fair will put on their resources. It is useless to expect that it can be managed to bring a return for the private capital that will be invested. Not only our own experience, but that of the European capitals where such fairs have been held, shows that there must be a heavy outlay, which will be a partial loss to individuals, while the gain to the whole community will more than outweigh this. In Europe the loss is made up by the governments. In America the precedent set as regards the Exhibition of 1876 stands in the way of this. The Government may make a small loan, and of course Congress will vote a handsome appropriation for a Government exhibit. But that is all, and the rest must come from the pockets of the public-spirited people of Chicago. In this respect New York certainly had the advantage, as a richer community, and one in which the usual sloth in the matter of subscriptions for public objects had been handsomely overcome with regard to the proposed Fair. It is this which makes the situation pathetic,—that so much virtue should have missed its reward.

THE extension of time for the bidding for the Seal Fisheries of Alaska has borne fruit in the securing of no less than twelve bids for the privilege of taking seals, of which only one was thrown out as informal. On the surface it would appear that the bid of the Alaska Commercial Company is the most advantageous to the national Treasury, and it is accompanied by an offer to do a great deal for the housing and education of the natives of the islands. They even offer to pay as much for the privilege as will be offered by any responsible citizen of the United States, besides doing these things also. It is still an open question, however, whether any of the bids should be accepted, or the plan of keeping the Fisheries in the hands of the Government should be adopted, as recommended by Governor Swineford, of Alaska, instead of renting out the monopoly.

Meanwhile Canada has been agitated by a report that Sir Julian Pauncefoot and Mr. Blaine have come to an understanding about the Seal Fishery, and that the claim of the Canadian ships to catch and kill the animals at will, has not been put into the agreement. Sir Charles Tupper has been sent off from Ottawa to see about this, and if he finds the matter fixed, then to try and



influence the consideration of the Eastern fisheries question, which is also said to have been taken up. As to the seals, it is very likely he has found the case about as reported. The truth is that English interests in this business are much the same as those of the United States. As all the skins go to London for preparation, it matters nothing to the English who takes them; and they may fear to ruffle our sensibilities lest they should be deprived of their monopoly in this respect.

SOME remark has been made to the effect that the available balance in the Treasury, added to the probable surplus revenue of the current year, makes a sum not greatly in excess of the amount of 4 per cent. bonds redeemable on the 1st of September of next year. There is no importance whatever in this suggestion, as affecting the propriety of a reduction of the revenues,—the repeal of the tobacco tax, and a readjustment of the sugar duties. The fact seems to have been overlooked that the 4 per cents. are not due and payable September, 1891, but simply are "redeemable" then, at the option of the Government. They may be paid, or not, in part or entire, according as it finds convenient.

The fact is, too, that the amount of surplus, at the present rate of revenue and expenditure, would be far greater at the date mentioned than enough to wipe out the bonds. There were outstanding of these bonds on January 31, 118 millions, with interest accrued, etc., of about one million, making, say, 119 millions. The available surplus in the Treasury was then nearly 32 millions, and there was,—to September 1, 1891,—nineteen months' time in which to accumulate 87 millions more. The decrease of the debt in the twelve months of the last fiscal year (July 1, 1888, to June 30, 1889), was 89 millions.

THE returns of our foreign trade for the twelve months ending January 31, (eleven months 1889, one month 1890), show the greatest aggregate movement of merchandise for at least six years,—829 millions of exports, 765 millions of imports. Furthermore, they show some advantage to us, as regards balance of trade. A year ago, the corresponding twelve months showed us 33 millions behind; and in 1888, for a like period preceding, we were about 8½ millions behind; whereas, on this last twelve months' trade we are (as shown above) 64 millions ahead. This is due to a great increase in the values of our exports. Every month since the beginning of 1889 we have sent more abroad, the total increase for the twelve months being no less than 125½ millions, so that although our imports also increased 29½, we had the handsome margin of 64 millions to our credit.

THE deadlock in the Iowa House has been brought to an end by a compromise in which the Democrats get the Speaker and very little else. As the Republicans are solid in support of Mr. Allison as the candidate for the United States Senatorship, and have a clear majority in the Senate, there is no reason to apprehend his defeat, in spite of the efforts to break the Republican column by putting forward candidates less pronounced in their views of national politics but more interested in the quarrel with the railroads. It is notable that these efforts were made and supported with much more vigor from without the State than at home. The people of Iowa were not aware that they had been recanting their own verdict on the question of Protection even before the Congress and the President they helped to elect in 1888 had got down to business.

By the arrangement the Republicans secured the right to constitute the five most important committees, and one of these is that on Temperance. That is the most burning-question in State politics, and the Democrats will leave no stone unturned to have the Prohibitory Law repealed. It is known that some of the Republican members are weak on that issue, and it is hoped that there will be enough of these to turn the scale. It may be so in the House, but it is not probable that the majority for Prohibition

in the Senate will be reversed. There could have been no question of such a thing if the Third Party had not run its candidates even in those districts where Republicans thoroughly friendly to Prohibition had been put in nomination. If the policy of the State should be reversed, the achievement will be theirs.

MARYLAND, West Virginia, and New Jersey are wrestling with the problem of Election Law reform, but it seems likely that none of them will reach a result satisfactory to the friends of the Australian plan. In Maryland the Gorman Ring has obtained complete control of the Legislature, and it will be very fortunate for the State if it do not make the laws much worse than they are. It has proposed a new Registration law which would overthrow even the ineffectual safeguards which now exist.

In West Virginia the question has become one of the incidents of the bitter party struggle which began with the conflict over the governorship, and as the Republicans control one branch of the legislature and the Democrats the other, there is small likelihood of any agreement.

In New Jersey Senator Werts has prepared a bill which covers the whole subject, and differs from the Australian plan in some important particulars, while copying it in the main. It enables any citizen to obtain copies of the official ballot in advance of the election, and allows these to be voted, thus defeating the feature of the plan by which the preparation of ballots beforehand was prevented. It seems to contemplate no "scratching" of tickets except by fastening "stickers" over names objectionable to the voter, as it requires the voter to mark a whole group of candidates, and not individual names. And of course it provides that the candidates shall be arranged in party groups, instead of according to the places to be filled. It also authorizes the addition of a device by which the illiterate voter may identify the group which is that of his own party.

In these respects the measure will not satisfy the friends of reform. Its manifest favor to the straight-out voter, especially since "sticking" must be effected within five minutes after the voter enters the "booth," will be very objectionable to them, as they always have upheld the Australian system as favoring electoral independence. So the permission to obtain ballots will open the way to Machine control of voters, especially since the representatives of the candidates are to be admitted within the railing where the election-officers sit. Altogether the measure seems to be meant to satisfy the demand for Reform without putting any serious obstacles in the way of the party managers to control the voters as heretofore.

In the New York legislature a sort of test vote has been had on the question of enacting the Australian method of voting. It requires the vote of three Democratic senators along with all the Republicans to constitute the two-thirds needed to pass a bill over Governor Hill's veto. But on this vote only two Democrats voted against the motion to substitute for the Saxton bill that of which Governor Hill has expressed approval. There is a possibility that the very senator who offered this alternate measure may vote for the Saxton bill in case of its being vetoed, and that the Republican senator who has been kept away by illness may be able to take his seat. It is upon these two possibilities that the chances of the measure depend, as it is quite certain that the Governor will deal with it this year as he did a year ago. And from his point of view, his course has some justification. He went before the people of the State upon this issue as distinctly as any other. Yet he was reelected, and the Republican majority was not so increased as to enable them to secure the needed majority. For the same reason he will veto the High License Law, which Mr. Eaton has prepared with much care, but just on the lines of that vetoed last year. If New York wants such legislation as this, it must make its beginning by not electing such men as Mr. Hill to its governorship.

THE dispute as to the standing of the public and the parochial schools seemed likely to be brought to an acute crisis by an ill-judged pastoral letter prepared by Bishop Wigger of the Catholic diocese of Newark, N. J. In this he laid a solemn injunction on the people of every parish to set up a school, and he "authorized" the parish priests to refuse the sacraments to those who refused to send their children to such a school, "either through contempt for the priest, or disregard of the laws of the Church, or for trifling and insufficient reasons." This deliverance was the logical expression of the principles laid down for Catholics by the Baltimore Provincial Council, and sanctioned by the Pope, except that it seemed to leave it optional for the priest to exclude or to admit offenders to the sacraments. And in our American theory of the relations of State and Church, the Bishop had a perfect right to say that those who did not comply with the rules of the Church should not be admitted to her sacraments. But theory and practice do not always fit, and even among Roman Catholics it was felt that the Bishop was going much too far. He received so many remonstrances from the priests of his own diocese, and even from those who have been most zealous in the founding of parochial schools, that his pastoral was laid aside and gentler proposals are to take its place. Had he pursued the other course, Rome itself might have rebuked him. The present Pope distinctly censured those Belgian prelates who tried to push this principle as to education to its logical conclusion, and even suspended and deposed one Bishop who refused to listen to his admonitions to moderation. Curiously enough, this Bishop has since renounced the faith of the Catholic Church, and is now a rabid Liberal.

Equally extreme on the other side of the controversy is the proposal to amend the State Constitution so as to authorize the punishment of any ecclesiastic who shall attempt to use Church censure to coerce a parent to take his child from the public schools of the State. The adoption of such an amendment is simply impossible, and it is well that it is so. It would set a precedent for the interference of the State with the regulation of Church societies, which would put an end to the religious liberty which is our best heritage from the past. In the view of the American State, a Church is a voluntary association, organized for purposes which are defined in its articles of incorporation, and vested with the right to admit or exclude members on such terms as it pleases. Should it violate its own articles by excluding members in defiance of the rights secured them by its own constitution, the State will interfere to see that they forfeit no right of property by this arbitrary action, just as it would do in the case of a literary society. But every member of the Roman Catholic Church knows on what terms he entered its membership, and if these be found oppressive, the remedy for him is to get out of it, if he cannot get redress within it.

THE Commission to examine into and report upon the Tax System of Pennsylvania, consisting of the Auditor-General, some members of the Legislature, and other gentlemen, has been in Philadelphia during the week, and given hearings to such persons as desired to have its august attention. As a matter of fact this Commission attracts no particular attention, and under the system by which Pennsylvania is now controlled, cannot be of any importance. There have been almost half a score such Commissions in the last twenty years, and their investigations and recommendations have led to nothing more important than the payment of their bills of expenses,—which in no case did they omit to present. The financial and tax policy of the State is determined in the Legislature, and the Legislature takes its orders from those whom Governor Beaver calls the "dominant leaders." When the presiding officers of both Houses are "fixed," and the committees are all revised, the tax laws to come out of the Legislature are easily within control.

One of those who appeared before the Commission in this city was an advocate of the "single tax," Mr. Henry George's theory,

and he naïvely retorted, in answer to the suggestion that such a tax would be confiscation of land, that it was "no more so than the present system of sheriff's sales." Which doubtless is very true, though not calculated, perhaps, to encourage the adoption of the "single tax." There has been a good deal of shrinking by the owner of a home from having it sold over his head by the sheriff, and if Mr. George's system proposes this wholesale the shrinking will no doubt be very general among those who have, or hope to get, a home of their own.

THE religious riot in Hull, Canada, where certain Protestant evangelists were assailed by a Roman Catholic mob, certainly was a disgraceful performance, and it is not surprising that the Protestants of the Ottawa Province were greatly excited by it. But it is just to recall the fact that when Mr. William O'Brien visited the same province to plead the cause of the Irish people against Alien Rule and Landlordism, as illustrated by the nobleman who was then acting as Governor-General, he was mobbed in one after another of the cities of Ontario, and in Toronto was in danger of his life from an Orange mob. The government of the province and of the Dominion, although forewarned by the threats of the Orange organs, took very few precautions for his safety. If the religious bitterness which wrought so much harm in Ireland is not to be fostered in the Dominion into a growth of passions equally abominable, it must be by honest and public-spirited people insisting on fair play for all parties. We could have hoped that the Catholics of Canada had shown more of this disposition in the present instance; but the Protestants have very little right to throw stones at them.

THE death of Mr. J. G. Biggar deprives the Imperial Parliament of the member who forced a revolution in its methods of procedure by his determination that if there was to be no legislation for the relief of Ireland, there should be none for any other interest of the United Kingdom. Night after night, and unsupported by any even of the Home Rulers, Mr. Biggar came down to the House with an armful of books and a sheaf of dilatory motions, by which he marched the members out into the lobbies and back again, often prolonging the operation until the dawn of another day forced adjournment. His bad temper, his unflinching wit in retort, and his characteristic obstinacy made him just the man for the work; and Mr. Parnell first showed his ability for leadership by coming to his help, and finally rallying the whole Irish party to the same side. Mr. Biggar's course requires no further vindication than the admission of Mr. Gladstone that he for one had given no adequate time or attention to the mastery of Irish questions until the rebellion of the Irish delegation against any other legislation forced him to do so.

Mr. Biggar drew his obstinacy from the Scotch-Irish stock. He was a Presbyterian by early training, but went over to the Roman Catholic Church simply by dint of political sympathy,—an instance of a rare character indeed.

IN discussing the German Emperor's "rescripts" on the wrongs of labor, it was generally forgotten that Germany was on the eve of a general election of members of the Reichstag, and that the young man was indulging in a bit of electioneering on behalf of law and order as represented by his dynasty. The elections of last week impart a new significance to his utterances, but they do not exhibit him as a very successful election canvasser. It is true that the German law, like the French, which requires an absolute majority to elect, leaves a large number of seats still in doubt—104 out of 397, in fact. But the returns show that the three parties whose combination furnished the Government with its majority, have ceased to constitute a majority, although they had contrived an arrangement by which they came each to the support of the candidates of the others. Their losses have benefited the Socialists, and the smaller and more radical factions of Liberals, while the Catholic party about holds its own. Of course it may be possible for the Government, by further concessions to the



Catholics, to effect a coalition with the Centre, which will help them out of their difficulty; and as Bismarck has heretofore found his way to Rome (or Canossa) on this errand, he may again invoke the aid of Leo XIII. in coercing Windthorst. But it is doubtful if concessions satisfactory to the Papacy can be made without endangering the understanding with the National Liberals. What is left of this great party is what could be induced to support Prince Bismarck even after the abandonment of the Kulturkampf and the modification of the May (or Falk) Laws so as to establish a kind of concordat with the Catholic Church. It is only a fragment of what was once the party, but it still cherishes some of its traditions, and will not go any length in purchasing the support of the Centre, its ancient enemy. Herr Bennigsen, who still leads it, has made many retrocessions from his old position, but he still has a public record and a name to lose.

The most notable fact of the elections is that the Socialist vote is doubled throughout Germany, and that important cities have elected Socialist candidates. It was firmly believed by the Government that its policy of repression had crushed the party, and the great falling off in the last two elections seemed to justify this claim. But it now appears that the laws have ceased to drive the members of the party to America, and that they have only had the effect of driving them from their homes to conduct an active propaganda of its ideas in other cities of Germany. The party is still weak as compared with the others, both in the country and in the Reichstag, but its increase of strength is an indication of trouble in the future.

#### FINANCIAL REVIEW.

NEW YORK.

THE bears have had things so much their own way in the stock market lately that even when prices rallied somewhat it seemed to be their doing in order to get a better level to sell from. Mr. Gould had promised his friends that better things were at hand, and said his own stocks would go up, but he got tired very soon of putting up his own stocks when nothing else on the list followed, and he contented himself at last with the declaration that when other people would support their stocks he would support his. When he was a healthier and stronger man than he is now, he would handle the whole market, and take on a line of as much as 500,000 shares of stock in doing it; but those times are past. The enormous strain and anxiety involved in operations of that magnitude are beyond his strength, and he appears to do little but handle one or two of his own stocks, chiefly Missouri Pacific. Mr. Morgan is also on the sick list, and after being confined to his house and room for a couple of weeks with rheumatic gout, went South for rest and recuperation. He was still so much of an invalid that friends who met him this week say he could only extend his left hand to greet them, his right being useless. The Vanderbilts take no active interest in the market, and the Vanderbilt stocks were depressed with the rest. There are some strong bull combinations or cliques which would like to see a bull market, but they are on the bull side not from choice but necessity, having loaded up with some specialty which handicaps them for other operations. The Reading combination is one, the Jersey Central another. They can hold their own stock more or less firm, but outside of it they are helpless. The few large operators who are not so situated have been working the bear side of the market, so that activity has usually been at the expense of prices, except when rallies were made as above referred to.

General conditions appear to be so much in favor of a bull market that the persistent refusal of the market to go upward except in brief spurts followed by lower depressions, has caused much talk and wonderment; much more than usual, because when the market goes down for weeks together there are usually very patent causes for it, but it is not so now. The cause which does lie on the surface, so to say, is the condition of the money market; not alone of the money market here, but of the money markets of the world. Wherever one looks, money seems to be tight, or if it is not at high rates for the moment, it is because there is a temporary lull in business and speculation, which has slackened the demand for it. Rates have for a long time past been high at Berlin, higher than at any other European money centre; they were high at Paris; and in London, the Bank of England in December raised its discount, or interest rate, to 6 per cent., which for that market represents stringency, and only reduced it a week ago, when the Bank reserve had been run up to the almost unprecedented figure of 50 per cent. of liabilities. A 6 per cent. Bank rate

gave the bull speculation in the London market so severe a twist that everything began to go down, and our securities were returned to us in large quantities. When the rate was brought down to 5 a revival in prices was looked for, but it did not come. The blow had been given and it was too severe to be recovered from in a day. The press despatches said there was much disappointment felt among the speculators for a rise, and it was thought that after this disappointment there would be no bull market this spring. People who were selling all sorts of American industrial concerns to English syndicates have had their business brought to a sudden halt. There is, however, some little buying spirit left, for London bought a few stocks the past week; enough to cause a weakening in exchange rates and to raise hopes in the more sanguine that gold importations were in sight.

The home situation in respect to money is not favorable to bull speculation in securities. The banks are drained down to near the 25 per cent. reserve line, and the prospects are that before the 1st of April they will be below it. One hears constantly that there is not enough money in the country to do its business, and that the Government should make more, keep up the currency to the increase of population, etc. It is a fact, however, that the aggregate of loans by the banks in the New York Clearing House (some 63 in number), is larger now than ever before in its history, a fact which has given rise to some uneasy discussion among the more conservative bankers. It is also to be noted that if we have not money enough to do business with, and that this is because of a defective financial system, as claimed, then there must be something wrong also with the financial system of England, and of France, and of Germany, for the same conditions are seen there. The silver men will tell you very promptly that there is something wrong. Germany demonetized silver, France did practically the same by stopping its further coinage, England has been always mono-metallic. By excluding silver as money, the silver men say these countries have reduced their available currencies below the requirements of trade, and are now suffering the consequences of it. As for us, what we want is more silver. More silver will meet all needs, give the required relief to trade, and set everything booming. However, it might make some trouble in Wall street when trade conditions required us to pay our balances abroad in money. They would not take our silver in Europe at statute prices, but at its bullion value in the markets of the world. Consequently, it would not be sent abroad, but gold would; and that would eventually leave us with a single currency of silver.

Another set of theorists have another theory to account for the universal tightness of money. They say that trade and speculation have everywhere expanded so greatly that the value of money has risen. A new and progressive country, with its abundant opportunities for the profitable employment of money, is always a borrower and is willing and able to pay higher rates for its use than an old country, where wealth has accumulated and the demand for it is less. Hence this country has had higher interest rates than England. But of late years, England has been expanding her lendings to other countries so enormously, as to South Africa, to India, to South America, Canada, and Australia, that she has drained down her monetary resources; while since the Franco-Prussian War, Germany has been gradually expanding her home and foreign speculations, and is now one of the most speculative countries in Europe. France has not done so much, but still she has done considerable, especially her terrific waste of capital at Panama. The consequence of this united movement in Europe has been that "trade has caught up with money;" in other words, that the whole commercial world by its expansion in all directions, has brought about a general rise in money rates consequent on the excessive demand for money. This, these theorists argue, is universal inflation, which will be followed by a general contraction, and not till this comes will there be permanently easy money again. Of course, this is what might be called the bear theory of the monetary and commercial situation. It is one that is much discussed in Wall street to-day. If it were true, the logical inference would be that we should have a bear market this year.

#### THE NEW YORK "WORLD" AND MR. QUAY.

THE issue of the New York World of February 10 contains an extended article in reference to the career of Mr. Matthew S. Quay. Some parts of it relate to passages in his life which, while they may have interest, do not strictly belong to his public career, and therefore do not concern the country generally; but the *gravamen* of the article affects in a most serious manner the fitness of Mr. Quay to hold any place of honor or influence. In a long series of specifications, explicit in form and extended in detail, it repre-

sents Mr. Quay as having been identified with acts and practices which not only deserve the most emphatic moral condemnation, but, if prosecuted in time, would have incurred the severest penalties of the law. Names, places, dates, circumstances, are given, and it cannot be alleged that the statements fail in any particular to demand the notice of the public or the serious attention of the person most concerned.

The *World* is a newspaper well known, and largely circulated,—its prominence, indeed, is hardly second to any other American journal,—and its charges undoubtedly will have to be met. They are so pointed and so serious that they cannot be ignored. If Mr. Quay is as the *World* describes him he cannot sit in the Senate of the United States, nor can he remain the head of the organization of the Republican party.

#### THE WORLD'S FAIR: NEW YORK'S FAILURE.

THOUGH the balloting in the House was a separate, not a joint procedure, committing the Senate in no way, and not forming any part of the legislative action by which an official color will be given the proposed Exhibition, yet it is fair to accept it as the settlement of the question of site. Chicago is to be the place. The voting was regarded in advance as the definite means of reaching a decision, and public opinion will demand, no doubt, that the judgment recorded shall be accepted in good faith. On the whole, Chicago is as good a place as any proposed. It is distant from the seaboard, and foreign exhibits will have to be transported a thousand miles inland, but if the Exhibition is to be held so soon as 1892, there will probably not be very many exhibits coming from abroad. Its hotel accommodations are good, the enterprise and energy of its people are proverbial, and its facilities of access one of our American wonders. Let us, then, put no stone in the path of Chicago, but give her every good wish for her success in this tremendous undertaking.

And why did New York cut so poor a figure? The vote on the first ballot showed but 72 for that city, out of 305. St. Louis had 61, and Washington had 56, while Chicago had 115. And on the final ballot Chicago led New York by fifty votes, in a total of 307. This was a poor showing for a city which so strongly feels its own great sufficiency, and which, consciously or unconsciously, has never entirely dismissed the secessionist thought of Fernando Wood, at the outbreak of the Rebellion, that it should set up for itself as an independent power,—a "free city" for the world's commerce, a Venice of the olden time transferred to the American shores.

New York, by this vote, is seen to have no strong hold upon the regard of the country. It may, or may not, be "the metropolis," but it is plainly not metropolitan in the sense that London is to Britain, or Paris to France, or Berlin to Germany. If we analyze the vote cast for it, we shall see that this was made up of two elements: first, the members from New York State and their neighbors,—a locality vote; and second, a body of supporters gathered from various parts of the South and Southwest, which was of one party entirely, and appeared to be political in its desire to favor New York. Thus, the locality feeling, (last ballot) got New York 63 votes,—13 from New England, 33 from New York, 7 from New Jersey, and 10 from Pennsylvania; while the remaining 44 came from a circle of States beginning with Delaware and extending to Texas, in the whole of which there was not more than one Republican member. The two Carolinas, Georgia, Alabama, and Louisiana, alone gave 28 votes of the 44, the others coming from Delaware, Virginia, Texas, Arkansas, and Tennessee.

It does not require a microscope to perceive what is implied by such a vote. The Republican members from New England and Pennsylvania were alarmed. Their neighborly feeling of preference for New York was shaken. The lack of confidence in New York's freedom from partisanship was evident. The protracted and bitter controversy as to the party affiliations of its committees, the struggle in the Legislature at Albany, the appearance of a

scheme to secure the expenditure of an immense sum of money in New York directly in the face of the next election,—all these united to create the apprehension that there was intended to be a repetition of the corrupt political methods which have disgraced that city and State from the days of Aaron Burr down to those of William M. Tweed and his successors. There need be no question that "Tom" Platt had cautioned such Republicans as would regard his word that they would be giving their party away if they put into the hands of the Democratic managers so great a lever of political influence as the gigantic expenditures for the Fair, to be poured out between the present time and November of 1892,—and little as we admire Mr. Platt on other grounds, it must be said that this was a plausible, if not absolutely sound, suggestion. It, unfortunately, was the more plausible in that it referred to a city whose elections are notoriously evil, and upon which it has been the cruel fortune of the country again and again to find its public affairs depending. We can therefore easily account for the fact that when New York had polled her locality strength, she was "at the end of her string," except to gather up those Southern members who would not be shocked at the idea of making the State "solid" in the hands of Mayor Grant and his coadjutors.

It may therefore be regarded as in a large degree fortunate that New York was not selected. Above all things, the great Exhibition should be kept clear of partisan misuse,—as was the Centennial of this city, in 1876,—and the simple fact that there were, and would have continued to be, political apprehensions and jealousies if New York had been chosen, was itself enough to establish the desirability of going elsewhere. Fortunately, the vote for Chicago was largely non-partisan; the majority were Republicans, of course, since the Interior and Northwest form a large part of the Republican stronghold, but there were Democratic votes from at least a dozen States besides Illinois, and we do not believe that the selection of that city implied any political favor for anybody. Let us hope, therefore, that the enterprise may be carried out in absolute loyalty to the spirit of national fair play and good fellowship, and that its success may help still further to bind all sections in a cordial union.

#### REMINISCENCES OF GEORGE H. BOKER.

GEORGE H. BOKER was within a few weeks the only person living known to me of whom I could not remember the first sight, for there was "no time when I did not know him." Our fathers were partners in business, our families were closely connected, we were infant play-fellows, school-mates, college intimates, "and so on ever." I do not think there was ever a half day of my life during which he did not enter my thoughts.

Boker's chief characteristic from very early boyhood was that of being *distingué* in the best sense of the word. Thackeray has with exquisite skill described such a natural *arbitrator elegantiarum* of the school, but Boker was absolutely free from the puppyism, or arrogance of Thackeray's type. For he was, though not reserved, instinctively conscious, even as a mere boy, that the best and brightest blade is soon ruined and rusted without the scabbard of modesty. This with a certain self-control developed itself in him to such a remarkable degree while very young that I have never known any instance like it, except among Orientals. It grew with his growth and strengthened with his strength, till in after years it became a power, and qualified him for society and diplomacy as few men are qualified. While at college I used to rally him a little now and then on the *nil admirari*, and suggest that "the Corinthian armament of a gentleman," (a great phrase in those days), was really *æs Corinthus* or Corinthian brass—which was certainly in his case a gross libel. I can remember one instance in which he laid it aside. There was near Princeton an old deserted tannery, in the open upper story of which all the papers which had been left by a distinguished general during the Revolutionary War had been thrown. People who took refuge in the tannery had made fires of them, and many were blowing about in the field near by. One evening while walking with Boker I picked up a plan of a fort in Canada dated 1704, and then a document written and signed by Benjamin Franklin. A sudden thought struck me. "Why these came from the old tannery." With a wild whoop we ran like deer, cleared the fence, and made for the precious plunder. As we ran I said: "George, where's *nil admirari* now?" His reply was not com-



plimentary to that distinguished character. He knew as well as any man when to cut the acquaintance and when to resume it. But after ransacking the pile I had about all there was of value, while he had nothing, so I gave him fair share, *inter alia*, a letter from General Knox to Washington, all of which he presented to the Philadelphia Historical Society.

As a mere schoolboy Boker's knowledge of poetry was remarkable. Between us we had Percy's "Reliques," and Don Quixote very nearly by heart, I excelling in the former, he in the latter, while as regarded Byron he was far more familiar with that poet than I. Scott we devoured and adored. It was a very favorite amusement of ours to improvise to one another long stories of chivalry and fairy-land. I can remember that many of his stories were admirable, and that he even at nine years of age manifested that wonderful gift which caused him many years after to be characterized by some great actor, (I think it was Forrest), as the best reader in America.

Boker had at Princeton the best furnished room in college. Fifty years ago that meant something about equal to the worst furnished now. I think, but am not quite certain, that he was the only possessor of a carpet in his building. There was a rumor current that for every chair in his study there was a spot marked with chalk where each foot was placed. That his habits of neatness and refinement far surpassed the average standard was undoubtedly true. He had more handsome books than any of his mates, and I more of an unusual sort, *curiosa, facietie, occulta*, etc., the rakings of bookstands at a day when parchment-bound works were as common as almanacs. Boker never cared for *curiosities*, but he loved *master-pieces* with all his soul, and the result was that he became truly a master-piece in himself.

While at college he read much poetry,—Shakespeare and Byron were his favorites. He used to quiz me sometimes for my predilections for Wordsworth and Coleridge. We both loved Shelley passionately. We read or recited to one another a great deal of poetry. He had begun to write it, and was generally regarded as being preëminently our college poet.

He graduated before me. When I left Princeton I at once went abroad, where I remained studying for three years. We had met but little for nearly six years. About this time N. P. Willis spoke in his newspaper of Boker as being then the handsomest man in America. He had his bust cut by Brackett, the sculptor, but it was remarked that though this was good, the ordinary busts of Lord Byron looked more like him. But to judge by the painted or engraved portraits, Boker was really the better looking of the two. He was exactly six feet high, of a perfect form, and skilled in all manly exercises. I never knew Boker to "talk horse" in my life, or mention his riding, but I once heard a man who was of all others whom I knew an expert in such matters, describe with great admiration the masterly manner in which Boker had managed and ridden an unruly animal. I used to suspect that with his characteristic tact he never cared to be absolutely distinguished for any minor accomplishment. I know that in his younger days he was a very good boxer, fencer, dancer; *non tetigit quod non ornavit*—but that he never intentionally turned the conversation to such subjects. He had preëminently the gift of self-control allied to tact, or a genial nature daintily disciplined, for he was never cold or apathetic.

This habit, which was both natural and cultivated, made him, I will not say mistrustful of gush in others, but slow to accept very ready outbursts. One day in 1873 we two were "alone in the desert"—at the Petrified Forest near Cairo,—the rest of our party at a distance. While strolling about he found in the sand a great curiosity,—an eye of Osiris, the great Egyptian amulet, in glazed green terra-cotta. He asked me what it was, and I rushed into a fervid explanation of the symbol, in which I quoted Proclus, Iamblichus, Horace, Apollo, and the Orphic Hymns. He seemed slow to believe, though he said nothing, whereupon I took from my purse a *fac-simile* of the eye—which I had bought at Lincoln's in Oxford street. "How came you to have *this* by you?" he asked. "Don't you know," I replied, "that I am a Gypsy Zahuri and have the eye?" His reply was to look at me with an indescribable glance,—droll, yet appreciative,—he could say a great deal with a look.

He was at this time Minister to Turkey, and was generally addressed as "Your Highness." I varied the expression now and then by calling him "Your Holiness." One day an Egyptian official asked me if Boker was distinguished for piety and learning. I replied that all American officials were chosen entirely with reference to such qualities,—especially the former. "I have," he replied, "known for many years many ministers from all countries, and I must say that yours is the first whom I should have supposed to be distinguished for anything of the latter kind."

His integrity and greatness of soul in all matters was characteristic. It came to my knowledge from another person in very high position, that the Khedive, who was under very great obli-

gation to Boker, had from a sense of gratitude offered him a sum which was simply enormous, which he gracefully declined. It was urged on his acceptance with the assurance that it should be indirectly and secretly conveyed to him, and that a certain other European ambassador had, not long before, accepted as much without scruple, and that it was even expected in such cases. But Boker refused it. I have never known any one who was so quietly generous as he, and who at the same time so carefully avoided making such deeds known. Such characteristics are more highly prized by Mohammedans than by Europeans, and are more nearly identified in their minds with religion; hence it will be understood that the respect felt for Boker by men in high place was very great indeed.

The Khedive lent Boker a steamer to go up the Nile, and I was his invited guest. It was a series of small fêtes, dinners at night at native consuls, coffee and long-pipes, dancing-girls, and rides in the desert. One day we saw a number of native boys, all stark-naked, standing close together. "That," observed Boker, "is the most economical style of dress I ever saw. Every boy is cloaked by another."

Much familiarity with the theatre, as one may learn from Goethe, is one kind of education, that with many great people is another, diplomacy is a third, social life a fourth: and all of these were known to Boker as very few know them collectively. When the war came, with the days of storm and pressure, he became a politician, not as a demagogue or professional, but as a true master and influencer of men's minds by wisely conceived and earnestly applied work. Even now few men know what was the influence of the Union League upon the country, and of Boker in the councils of the League. Some of his songs published at this time had great influence and still live. Had he written nothing more than these his name would still have an honorable place in American literature.

It is long ago now, since I was accustomed to meet Bayard Taylor and T. Buchanan Read at Boker's house, or the three at Taylor's in New York,—as far back as '49 and so on for several years. They were all at their beginnings then,—but young as they were they had struck or were striking strong blows. Taylor and Boker were wonderfully "all 'round men," who already knew cities and men, many things and books; all three were brilliant conversationalists, especially when met. I was destined to meet them again more than once, over the sea. The last time I talked with Read was at a dinner given to me by him in Rome. He said things clever and often cutting, Boker and Taylor things clever and genial. Now they are all gone, for everything ends, as does the *Her-var-saga*, with "None of us can escape Destiny."

Boker had a deep love of art, but never pretended to know more of it than his studies and experience warranted, for he had no pedantry in anything. He admired master-pieces or great works, and I think not without intent, and certainly with great reason, believed that the influences of the *best* examples were sufficient. He was as regards this, as in his reading, like Schiller. Herein we differ radically, but I observed that it led him to an intuitive recognition of all that was really beautiful and true in art. I have been with him many times in the Louvre, the great galleries of London and Saint Petersburg, and studied with him the stupendous and strange remains of Egyptian art in the Boulak Museum and the Nile temples, but never knew any one, however learned he might be in such matters, who had a more sincere enjoyment of their greatest results. I remember that he manifested much more interest and deeper feeling for what he saw in Egypt than did Emerson who was there at the same time, and with whom I conversed daily for weeks. This reminds me of Boker's first interview with the philosopher. It was at Newport, where we were staying at Bateman's. One afternoon he went with a friend, clad as ordinary fishermen to catch bass. First came a great opera-singer,—Madame Frezzolini,—who wanted to buy Mr. Boker's lobsters, and asked him to bring her some. Several gentlemen and ladies spoke to them, not supposing them to be other than "ordinary folk." Then came Emerson equally unsuspecting, who put Mr. Boker many *naïve* and searching questions as to his manner of life and craft. But at last his eye rested on Mr. Boker's silver reel, which had cost, if I remember rightly, \$250, and without a word he turned away. Boker told me the story that evening, and I received a commission to "paint the wheel-barrow" in which the bait was carried, in such a gorgeous style that future tourists might get an inkling that the proprietors were amateurs to be left in peace. Which I faithfully executed. When Boker and Emerson next met it was under the palm trees in Misraim.

My friend was deeply impressed with the tremendous efforts which had been taken at many times to deliberately destroy the temples and their sculptures,—the latter being chiefly the work of Christian monks. He spoke several times of writing a poem setting forth the feelings of an iconoclast who devoted his life to ruining every trace of ancient faiths, believing that by so doing he

was glorifying God. His capacity to do this and his real appreciation of pure art are set forth in the "Ivory Carver," which I sincerely believe to be the best poem of its kind in any language, so far as I am acquainted with such works. I have often wondered what Goethe would have thought of it.

I have not attempted to give a criticism of Boker's works, for I have seen several which do them justice; nor to write a studied eulogium, but simply to record haphazard incidents and anecdotes, —with which indeed I could fill a volume. I have known a great many distinguished men, but I truly think that take him for all in all I never knew his equal. It is rarely given to any human being to score so many points in the game of life as he did, and his was a character which belonged to *la generation qui va* and is almost unknown to *la generation qui vient*. Like the *polyhistor* in knowledge, the Crichton is disappearing from society and life, for it is no longer "good form" to be a type. And Boker was a type of a glorious kind, and I doubt not that a century hence, if any earthly interest in original characters should chance to survive, he will be set forth in song or drama, as the American Sidney of his time.

CHARLES G. LELAND.

Brighton, England, Feb. 7.

### THE LAW'S DELAY.

IN view of the swiftness with which social forces now move, it seems strange that the administration of the science of the law, —the stronghold of all government and society,—should, in so many States, not only retain the old evils of delay, but fail to make provision for fresh hindrances arising from the changed conditions of the world. Yet the neglect is undeniable. The judges in some of our higher courts cling to their gowns, but have lost their snowy wigs, and in the lower tribunals they appear in the street dress of the average citizen; but, although they have shaken off the artificiality of days gone by, delay still hangs closely to them.

Does legal procedure keep pace, in its improvement, with the other sciences of the world? Do the courts do their work with the business promptness and efficiency which society exacts of private bodies?

It does not need a member of the profession to give the answer, for the many who have served as jurors, witnesses, or litigants have had abundant proof that the country and its people have far outgrown the methods provided for the administration of justice. They judge the system fairly, by contrast with the other departments of social life. They see facilities in other matters, everywhere, the result of private enterprise; but the perfecting of the laws, and the enforcement of them retrograde, or, at the best stand still. The legal profession is the sufferer. The rules of the various trade associations throughout the country contain provisions that differences between members shall be settled by arbitration before an appropriate committee, and the fact that any member appeals to the court for his rights is made the ground for his expulsion from the society.

The law's delay has been a reproach from time immemorial. In the Great Charter, extorted from King John, more than six hundred years ago, a solemn promise was exacted from him, that he would "sell or deny or defer right or justice to no man;" and further provisions were made for the holding of assizes, in every county four times a year, and the disposition of every case ready to be tried. Kingly promises would seem to be as vain as those of American politicians, for four hundred years afterwards, Shakespeare makes "the law's delay" one of the ills of life which led Hamlet to think of suicide. The chief end of all human systems of government has been repeatedly asserted to be in the dispensation of justice; certainly, the adjustment of the rights of man against man, the prompt acquittal of those wrongfully accused and the conviction of the guilty, are matters of an interest so vast that to speak of them is to show their importance.

In some of the States of the Union, the old common law procedure, by which a suitor is entangled in a maze of forms, the violation of any of which means certain defeat, is still retained; but in most of them reforms of various kinds have been made in the systems of pleading, so that whatever may be the delays, they are usually connected with some matter of substance. It is to be regretted that no statistics are kept by any of the States on a subject of so much importance. As to most other affairs, minute details are recorded by public officers, but concerning the laws which are to enforce the rights connected with them, there is entire neglect to make any note of their workings. From the proceedings of the American Bar Association, however, and statistics gathered by them, it is plain that the evils of delay, in the disposition of legal work, are widespread, and are a serious menace to the development of business and the rights of the people.

In the frailty of human systems, some delay, it is true, cannot be avoided, and some is absolutely necessary. Controversies are heard for the purpose of ending them, and therefore should be

heard fully. There are subjects constantly arising concerning which no precedent is to be found, and these must be argued and re-argued, in order that the fullest discussion may be had and a rule of action laid down which will not only be just in the particular case under discussion, but will serve for all similar cases that may occur in the future. The enormous growth of railroad interests and the system of trusts, arising from the competition of trade, are instances of new conditions, giving rise to novel and serious questions of law, which need careful and mature reflection, before a proper decision can be rendered.

Judicial procrastination is, without doubt, a great fault; but the public do not plead for haste in the matter of the adjustment of their rights; they do not complain of slow work, but of the long pauses when no work at all is done,—of the vast accumulation of untouched business.

In our own courts, one of the principal cause of delay is found in the fact that cases called for trial are continued or postponed, because the counsel on one side leaves word that he is engaged in court elsewhere, when he may be purposely absent, in order to delay the cause. While an officer of the court is hunting him up, another case is called for trial, and occupies the time of the court, until all chance of reaching the original case is gone for the term. In this way, a defendant who has no real defense is free for three months longer, in which time he may fail, or remove or convey his property, so that when a judgment is obtained it is worthless. The absence of witnesses, without legal excuse, is often ground for the same action. Strict rules on these points are in existence, but their enforcement is always uncertain,—depending greatly upon the counsel interested and the condition of the calendar.

Contrary to the opinion of a large portion of the public, the profession of the law is not served by hard times and business difficulties, nor is it by delay in the course of justice. Good times and prompt dispatch of business are to lawyers, as to all others, the conditions of true success. They have through their organizations spoken to this effect, with no uncertain voice, but so far without avail. Sir Matthew Hale, many years ago, said of the lawyers of his day: "By long use and custom, men, especially that are aged and have been long educated to the profession and practice of law, contract a kind of superstitious veneration for it beyond what is just and reasonable;" and perhaps this is the reason why our judges cling so fondly to the slow and laborious methods of olden times. The Bar of Philadelphia, through its Association, a year or two ago, prepared a careful memorial to the judges of our Common Pleas Courts, asking for relief from the delays in the conduct of business by them, and set out a practical method of reform, in entire accord with the wishes of the profession generally. Up to the present time, no effort seems to have been made to give the suggestions effect; and even such a wholesome provision, as that when the judge of one room has finished the cases before him for the day, he shall take up the cases entitled to be next called in the adjoining room, has been neglected. Official stenographers, the appointment of whom by the judges is mandatory, under the law, are never seen in our courts, and the delay and consequent expense to litigants and to the county cannot be estimated. If two such plain requirements are neglected, the lack of advance in everything else can be imagined. Cases involving vast sums, the delay in the decision of which may mean bankruptcy or misery to the litigants, are allowed to stand over on frivolous excuses, or, after hearing, are held under advisement for weeks or months, and then decided without a line of opinion, so that after appeals to the Supreme Court the cases have to be sent back for correction, before they can be even properly reversed. The judges of the Orphans' Court are an exception, which proves how much can be done by the judiciary to correct the evils of delay. A vast amount of business passes through their hands, in the number of cases and the valuable interests involved, far exceeding the Courts of Common Pleas, yet no case remains unheard upon the calendar, without just cause, for more than a few weeks, and decisions are promptly written and filed, concerning questions of even slight importance. There is an atmosphere of business in all the proceedings in the Orphans' Court, and the small number of appeals and reversals, shows with what accuracy and efficiency litigation there is conducted.

The trial lists of our Common Pleas Courts for the Fall Term of the last year, contained upwards of two hundred and fifty cases over four years old, some of them over ten, and countless cases over two years old. These are called for trial three times during the year, and are subject to be tried during several days at each calling. A case four years old may mean at least twenty-five or thirty attendances of litigants and witnesses, and if the parties are non-residents as many trips from distant points. It is not to be wondered at that citizens suffer outrage rather than go to the delay and expense of an action at law when the procedure is so slow that before the case can be tried witnesses may die, and evidence



be forgotten and vanish and success in the end prove a worthless victory.

The Charter from King John provided for as many terms of court as are held here now, and further required that all cases ready for trial should have a hearing without delay. It would seem that we have less care for our rights, than our ancestors, for cases are now allowed to stand for many years and suitors call in vain for their trial.

The profession and the public are urgent for redress, and those who are in a position to give relief should see to it that a matter of such vast importance is no longer neglected. The laws should be fixed, but their administration should keep pace with the necessities of society, for upon their prompt and efficient enforcement depend the safety and welfare of the State.

SAMUEL WILLIAMS COOPER.

#### WEEKLY NOTES.

A RATHER disagreeable incident attended the dinner of the Harvard Club, (of Philadelphia), on Saturday evening. President Eliot, who was present, made a severe criticism,—some of the reports call it a sweeping and unqualified condemnation,—of newspaper reporters, and, as two of the gentlemen present, Mr. Clarke Davis, of the *Ledger*, and Mr. Brainerd, of the *Daily News*, were journalists, they felt it needful to make some rejoinder. Mr. Brainerd, who is himself an alumnus of Harvard, was particularly energetic, and the incident, though in a sense a private affair, has become public through reports in the newspapers both of this city and Boston. Apparently, President Eliot was both too caustic and too sweeping. We all know the weak side of the reporter's work: he is too often required "by the policy of the paper" to make it interesting for those readers on the lower side of the average mark. The consequence is that he writes down, not up: if he wrote for the higher average, the lower would not read him at all, and so circulation would suffer. But to say that the reporter is universally, or even generally, an ill fellow, is absurd; on the contrary, he is as good a fellow as you will meet, put at a difficult task, and working under hard requirements. On the whole, he is as honest as many other classes: who would say, for example, that in honesty he suffers by comparison with the lawyers?

President Eliot's claim that the average reporter is no fit associate for a college-bred man is untenable, in view of the facts that journalism offers a field especially adapted to men with collegiate educations, and that a practical knowledge of journalistic detail can best be obtained by beginning on the lower rungs of the ladder. Moreover, reportorial ethics will never be improved by calling hard names. It was wise Roger Ascham who said: "I assure you, there is no such whetstone to sharpen a good witte and encourage a will to learning, as is praise." President Eliot may have a just grievance in Boston,—which is not so good a town as some think,—but he has taken an infelicitous method of making it known.

THE Contemporary Club, by a new set of By-Laws, adopted on Saturday evening, has fixed the limit of its membership at 200, instead of 175. This, however, will not permit any election of new members, except as vacancies occur, there having been a peculiar class of "double memberships" in the Club, by which about twenty-five extra names were on the roll, thus filling up the measure exactly. Two hundred, it is considered, is as many as can be conveniently accommodated, with the usual number of invited guests, at the monthly receptions. For the next one of these, it is announced, Professor Herbert B. Adams, of Johns Hopkins, has been secured, to speak on "University Extension."

THE Art Club announces a reception on Saturday evening of next week, the 8th, to Mr. Edwin A. Abbey and Mr. John S. Sargent. The Penn Club, last Saturday evening, gave a reception to Commander Green, U. S. N., of the school-ship *Saratoga*, now stationed at Philadelphia, a gentleman engaged in a very worthy work, and so well deserving of honor.

HAVERFORD COLLEGE offers its friends an interesting series of lectures by distinguished speakers, on subjects of importance. On Tuesday evening of the present week, Dr. D. Hayes Agnew lectured on "Preventive Medicine;" on the 11th inst., Dr. W. T. Harris, the U. S. Commissioner of Education, will speak on "Education as a Profession;" and on the 14th, Mr. Charles E. Fitch, of Rochester, N. Y., on "Journalism." Mr. Fitch is well known as the editor of the *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle*, and was sometime lecturer on Journalism at Cornell University.

Other lectures in the Haverford course are to be announced later.

THE address of Mr. Joseph Wharton before the Wharton School Association, last week, was a remarkably cogent presentation of the question how far college methods of instruction in the past have fitted to the needs of young men intending to pursue a business career, and how much better an adjustment can be made. The company present was complimentary to the occasion, and the affair will aid,—with the excellent preliminary address of Prof. James,—to confirm the hold which the Wharton School has acquired.

THE Ibsen readings which are to take place in one or more private houses during the month, and which though not public in any sense are yet known to the observers of social activities, indicate what a hold the Norwegian dramatist has,—temporarily, perhaps,—on the curiosity and taste of the day. A contributor remarks upon them, as follows:

"It has been so generally assumed that all his prose dramas (notably 'The Dolls' House' and 'The Pillars of Society,') are special pleas for the social theories of the author, that many enquirers have been repelled at the outset, and so have missed some of the best presentations of profound problems to be found in current literature. As a matter of fact, it is questionable whether Ibsen is a special pleader at all. He does not commit himself, but simply states a supposititious case; even in the life of *Nora Helmer*, he drops his curtain upon a mark of interrogation. Was she right? He does not say. Was she wrong? Let the reader ask his conscience. That is all. Mean, while the existence of many *Noras* in the world presents one of the burning problems with which society has to deal, and we owe a debt of gratitude to the mentor who will not let us sink into the lethargy of indifference. The proposed readings will bring about a clearer understanding of these important works."

A VISIT from Herr Von Bülow is something which those who appreciate music at its best will anticipate with keen pleasure. As an illustrious example of the perfection to which mechanical execution can be carried, Von Bülow's position is nearly unique. That he lacks the inspiration,—the poetic abandon,—of Rubinstein is undoubted, but that his technique is as faultless as is humanly possible, may reasonably be claimed for him.

"PICTURESQUE" is the word which best applies to Mr. Wilson Barrett. He is a capable actor, but his limitations are narrower than his many friends are ready to admit, and he is never at his best except with a background of rich colors and in a poetic atmosphere. His work in plays like "Clito" and "Claudian" has been so thoroughly examined that further criticism is uncalled for, but candor compels the statement that, in the former tragedy, he is clearly overshadowed by Miss Eastlake, whose conception of the character of *Helle* deserves to take rank with much of the highest class of tragic acting of the day. The part is repellent, but the actress invests it with so strong a human interest that indifference is impossible.

Mr. Barrett's melo-drama "Now-a-days," produced on Tuesday night, is the customary jockey play, with a romantic undercurrent and a horsey flavor. The material is a bit shopworn, and we are just a little tired of stop-watches and paddocks. Nevertheless it was a success,—a fact which silences criticism,—usually.

WE note, in the European despatches, that Mrs. Marion Lea has made a hit in London in the part of *Audrey* in Miss Langtry's production of "As You Like It." Miss Lea, who is a sister of Mrs. Anna Lea Merritt, is a Philadelphian who has long been working patiently for recognition on the English stage. She has undoubted talent, and it seems probable her reward is near at hand.

A PROPOS of the advent of "The Gondoliers," it is agreeable to note that Sir Arthur Sullivan flatly contradicts the widely circulated rumors of a quarrel between himself and Mr. Gilbert. Such a discord would be a regrettable termination to the many harmonies of word and song which we owe to their coöperation,—and of which "The Gondoliers" is an important fruit, notwithstanding the fine efforts of the incapable New York company to ruin it.

#### THE REMOVAL OF THE SOUTHERN UTES.

INDIAN RIGHTS ASSOCIATION,  
1305 Arch Street,  
Philadelphia, February 25.)

To the Editor of THE AMERICAN:

I TRUST that you will kindly exert your influence upon your Representatives in Congress, either through the channels of the public press, or by private letters, to prevent the threatened removal of the Southern Utes from their present reservation in Colorado, to the proposed new reservation in Utah. The reasons for opposing this removal are, in my judgment, strong and urgent.

I will briefly state them: The removal will be a violation of a fundamental principle of sound Indian management. Indians should never be removed from a reservation which is capable of maintaining them by civilized industry, which has sufficient arable land for that purpose, and which by its locality enables them to have free and natural intercourse with civilized communities, unless such Indians are so hostile to the whites as to imperil the peace of the surrounding country. When Indians are upon arable land, as is the case of the Southern Utes, they should be settled upon it permanently under the terms of the Dawes Severalty Bill; and such steps should be taken for their civilization by the Government and by their friends, as will make them, in due course of time, quiet, orderly, and industrious citizens. After Indians have been so settled, legitimate means should be taken for the sale and opening to settlement of their surplus and unneeded lands. All this is true of the Southern Utes. The urgent demand for the removal of these people, made by the Senators of Colorado, arises wholly from the desire of the white population contiguous to the reservation to become possessed of their lands, irrespective of the grave, if not fatal, injury which will be inflicted upon this tribe of Indians thereby. It is proposed to remove these people to lands in Utah where there is a great scarcity of water, and where, unless irrigation be used, agriculture is attended with such difficulties as in the case of Indians to be almost, if not wholly, impossible. It must also be noticed that these lands are so mountainous and inaccessible as to furnish a powerful temptation to lawlessness on the part of the Indians who may be located upon them. Also that there is as strong an outcry from the people of Utah living near the proposed reservation against this removal as there is from the people of Durango and the neighboring country of Colorado in favor of it.

It has been urged, in advocacy of this removal, that the Indians themselves desire it, but in reply to this argument it should be noted that the very reasons given by the Indians are those which should decide the Government against the removal. The Ute Indians did not originally wish to remove, but acceded to the urgent pressure of the Commissioners, who remained with them five months in order to secure their consent, and were partially influenced in their decision by the payment of money, made to some of their Chiefs, through the Commissioners which was virtually bribery, to secure their consent. The Indians say that they desire to go to the new Reservation because the whites will then no longer trouble them and they will be allowed to live as Indians. It is not only the professed purpose of the United States Government to civilize Indians,—to permit them no longer to live as Indians, and to require them to live as white men,—but the Government is under the weightiest of obligations so to do. This very reason which has been assigned by the friends of the removal in its favor is a strong argument against the removal.

But the most powerful argument against the whole scheme lies in the fact that a fatal precedent will be established which will act most injuriously on the fortunes not of these Indians alone, but of all others, if the Government weakly permits a removal of Indians solely for the purpose of gratifying the greed of the whites. By allowing such a removal there is a virtual admission that the Government's wish to civilize the Indians is at least not so sincere and firm as is its desire to gratify the demand of those who covet their lands. If it yields in this instance there is no logical reason why it should not yield in all others where the Indian possesses land good enough to excite the cupidity of his neighbors. If it yields now in the case of the Southern Utes it will be but a few years before the Indian's neighbors in Utah will demand his removal from the proposed reservation to some more inaccessible and worthless spot.

The principle involved in this question is fundamental and vital. What should be done in this case is both consistent with justice to Indians and the interests of their white neighbors. The Southern Utes should be settled at once upon their present reservation, and should take up as individuals their lands under the terms of the Severalty Bill. The Government should immediately put into operation on their behalf such methods for their civilization as will change them from wandering and shiftless to settled and industrious people. The same methods which have been successful wherever fairly applied in bringing about this result with other Indians will be successful with these. A sufficient number of Sioux in Dakota have already changed from savage to civilized men to prove the truth of this assertion. The surplus lands of the Southern Utes should then be opened, on equitable terms, to white settlement, so that the irritation which exists on the part of their white neighbors from the presence of a long, narrow strip of Indian country between two portions of civilized country may be removed. By such just and reasonable action both the white man and the Indian may be served, and that great injustice which will result from yielding to the present demand for the Indians' removal on the one hand, and from allowing the Indian and the

Indian's land to be obstacles to civilization on the other, may be done away.

We believe that members of Congress, when fully informed of the facts, are anxious to do that which is reasonable and just for the Indian and that this appeal on his behalf will not be unavailing. It will be, we think, apparent to every mind which has at all considered the Indian question, that there can be no doubt as to the fairness and justice of this plea. The principle of unnecessary removals once admitted, the Government will have practically abandoned its determination to treat the Indian justly and to furnish him a fair chance for life. No white community put under the operation of constant removal at the demand of more powerful neighbors could exist in a state of civilization.

Respectfully,

HERBERT WELSH.

#### PURE GOVERNMENT: FREE GOVERNMENT.

EXTRACTS FROM MR. CABLE'S ADDRESS AT BOSTON.<sup>1</sup>

**MR. PRESIDENT and Gentlemen of the Massachusetts Club:** The great patriot and statesman in whose birth the American nation to-day renews its annual joy and thanksgiving, keeps the place he holds in the world's regard not alone as the father of modern self-government, but as also himself ideally personifying the freedom of the governed mated to the purity of those chosen to rule. I trust, therefore, you will count it not inappropriate to this occasion that I venture to address you concerning the struggle for pure government in our Southern States.

First, then, as to the statement that virtually the whole mass of negroes in the South cares nothing for good government, we say that to establish such a vast exception to so general a truth requires exhaustive proofs. Where are they? Reconstruction times do not furnish them. They may show that the reconstruction party, white and negro, constantly and formidably opposed by an exclusively white party, hostile to the equal civil liberty of whites and negroes, did not achieve, may be did not often try to achieve, purity in government. But they only prove our premise that there can be no effective effort for pure government while an insecurity of free government keeps classes or parties occupied with one another's actual or possible aggressions.

How can it be? Tens of thousands of them own the land they till, the houses they live in. With scarcely a rich man among them, they own to-day certainly not less than \$100,000,000, some say \$160,000,000 worth of taxable wealth. Over 1,100,000 of their children, half of their total school population, are enrolled in the public schools, where their average daily attendance is more than 600,000. Their principal industry is agriculture, the most peaceable and peace promoting labor of the hand known to mankind. Their crops in the year 1889, unless high journalistic authority is in error, aggregated the value of \$900,000,000. Is it to be believed that the whole mass, or any preponderating fraction of such a people as this is so supinely indifferent to, or so abjectly ignorant of, the advantages of pure over corrupt government that they prefer the corrupt, other things being equal? Hundreds of thousands of them take pains—not a few take risks—to vote, voting far oftener for white men than for colored. Do these all prefer corrupt rulers and measures, and for mere corruption's sake? The answer is familiar. Their leaders, it is said, do actually want corruption for its own sake, to fatten on it, and in vast solid masses the great black herd blindly follow these leaders. But wherein lies the strange power of these leaders? In consanguinity? They are oftener white than colored. In promises of official patronage? There are not places enough to go half around among the leaders. How then? By the literal buying of ballots? Ballot buying may turn the fortune of a close election, it can never make whole vast masses of people vote all one way.

How then do they lead them? They lead them by promises of deliverance from oppressive or offensive public conditions from which they see other men profitably free, and long themselves to be delivered. That men should be willing to follow whoever is for their induction into all and only the full measure of American freedom, and count that their supreme necessity, is the poorest proof in the world that they are all opposed to pure government.

But we are told they would become so were the hand of suppression withdrawn. This is a very ancient argument. A century ago it was believed and practically applied against millions of white men exactly as it is now urged against millions of negroes. Manhood suffrage, even for white citizens of the United States, is barely seventy-five years old, and of all the earlier States of the Union is youngest in New England. To-day, with but one or two inconsiderable exceptions, from Austria to Australia every white men's government in the world has either reached, or is steadily moving toward, manhood suffrage. Yet we

<sup>1</sup> By Mr. George W. Cable, before the Massachusetts Club, at Boston, February 22.



must still meet the same argument, long overturned as to white men, but readapted and made special against negroes as so far exceeding white men in cupidity, vanity, and passion that what political experiment may have proved as to ignorant, unintelligent, and unmoneyed white men, is not thereby made even supposably possible as to negroes.

The loose assertions offered to support this assumption we deny. We deny that this utter and manifest unfitness of the negro is believed by all respectable Southern white men. All through the South there are worthy white men who deny that the experiment need be futile or disastrous. We deny that Southern white men are so exclusively able to decide this point that their word ought to be final. Some men may be too far off, but just as certainly others may be too near, to decide it uncounseled; and, in fact, every great step thus far taken toward the negro's real betterment has been first proposed by those remote from him, while it has been condemned as idle or dangerous by those nearest him. We deny that the experiment of full civil and political liberty has ever been fairly tried on the negroes of the South. One thing has always been lacking, the want of which has made the experiment a false and unfair trial. It has always lacked the consent—it has had the constant vehement opposition—of well nigh the whole upper class of society in the commonwealths where the negroes' new citizenship lay.

Without land-ownership, commerce, credit, learning, political or financial experience, the world's acquaintance and esteem, the habit of organization, or any other element of political power except the naked ballot and the ability to appeal at last resort to the Federal authority, and with almost the whole upper class of society, and well-nigh all these elements of power skillfully arrayed against them, the negroes, accepting the party leadership and fellowship of any and every sort of white man who would only recognize their new tenure of rights, took up the task abandoned to them in confident derision by their former masters, of establishing equal free government for all, in States whose governments had never before been free to other than white men. The resulting governments were lamentably corrupt. But it was the climacteric hour of official corruption throughout a whole nation hitherto absorbed in the rougher work of establishing a complete freedom. Even so, they began to rise on broader, truer foundations of political liberty and equity than had ever been laid in those States before, and certainly no people, even when not antagonized by the great bulk of a powerful class above them, ever set up both free and pure government in the first twelve years of their bodily emancipation or the first nine years of their enfranchisement.

Another twelve years has passed, with the negroes' political power nullified, and the white, intelligent, wealth-holding class in uninterrupted control; and still that class is longing and groping in vain for pure government and is confessedly farther from it at the end of its twelfth year of recovered control than it was at the end of its first, while the principles of free government are crowded back to where they were twenty years ago. No; it is not the admission of, it is the refusal to admit, the negro into political copartnership—not monopoly—on the basis of a union of free and pure governments, that has produced the very conditions which, it was argued, such admission would precipitate.

It was this refusal that threw him, intoxicated with more importance and power than either friend or foe ever intended him to have, into the arms of political hypocrites and thieves. It is this refusal that has demonstrated with ghastly clearness the truth—counted suicidal to confess—that even the present ruling class is not strong enough or pure enough to establish and maintain pure government without the aid and consent of the governed. I admit the negro problem is not always and only political. It is not only and always a peculiar African proneness to anarchy; nor is it always race instinct; it is often only the traditional pride of a master class that remands the negro to a separate and invidious tenure of his civil rights; but it is to perpetuate this alienism that he is excluded from political copartnership, and it is the struggle to maintain this exclusion that keeps the colored vote solid, prevents its white antagonists from dividing where they differ as to other measures, and holds them under a fatal One Party idea that rules them with a rod of iron.

We see then how far the facts of history and present conditions are from proving the Southern States an exception to the rule that pure government cannot be got by setting its claims before and above free government. Rather, they present these States as striking examples of free government itself falling into decay through the well-meant but fatal policy of seeking its purification by constricting the rights and liberties of the weaker and inferior ranks of society.

Washington, bidding a last farewell to public office, and uttering his paternal warnings to the people, pronounced not largeness or universality of freedom, not illiteracy, nor unintelligence,

but a rankness of party spirit the worst enemy of popular government. If he could characterize "the alternate domination of one faction over another" as "itself a frightful despotism," what would he have said of an arbitrarily permanent domination of one party over another, and a culmination of party spirit into the One Party idea—the idea that a certain belief and policy are so entirely, surely, and exclusively right that men who do not assent to them are incendiary, vile, outrageous, and not morally entitled to an equal liberty and security under the laws with those from whom they dissent? A State ruled by such a sentiment is no longer under free government. A people seeking pure government in that way are trifling with destiny and hurrying toward disaster, and in simple humanity, if not in their own involved interest, those who see their error ought to stop them if there is a way to do it consistent with righteous law.

Is there any such way? Let us look at the situation. The Reconstruction Governments in the South, while still holding, not for negro domination, which they never held for, but for equal free government for all, lost in large measure the nation's respect and good will by an acute moral and financial defalcation. They were allowed to be overturned by measures often severely revolutionary, on the assurance of their opponents to the nation and to the world that their only desire and design was pure government, and that they were more than willing and amply able to furnish it at once and follow it closely with the amplest measure of free government contemplated in the Amendment of the Constitution. Some Southern men may deny that this was the understanding on which their party was allowed to retake the monopoly of its State governments. The question is not important, for it is not proposed here to mourn the extinction of the Reconstruction Governments, as one mourns the death of the righteous, nor to lay upon the men who destroyed them the whole blame of the error committed. Whatever one or another's understanding was, it cannot for a moment be denied that this was the hope and expectation of the great North and West. The blame, if blame were worthy of count, was on those, whether in North or South, in the Republican or Democratic, or any third or fourth party, who comforted themselves with the delusion that a policy of pure government first, free government afterward, could produce either free or pure government. Seeing at last that this delusion is *what* was and is to blame, the question who was to blame—where no side was wrong by choice—is a question we may sink, with its answer, forever, beneath the sea of oblivion.

Through twelve weary and distressful years this fallacy has been given as fair a trial as anything ever had, and to-day more manifestly than ever before it is weighed in the balance and found wanting. For years the show and promise of better things joined themselves with a faith in the all-healing powers of time, peace, and material prosperity to sooth the nation's solicitude and sustain its hope. The Southern State governments had hardly changed hands when their financial credit began to rise with a buoyancy which proved—if such proof had been needed—that it was only the Governments, repudiated and antagonized by the wealth-holding portion of the people, that were bankrupt, and whether their action was justifiable or not, it was nearer the truth to say the people had bankrupted the Governments than that the Governments had bankrupted the people.

For a long time the sincerity and earnest diligence of the more intelligent and liberal wing of the Southern conservatives bent itself to a most commendable progressive measure, one which had already been irrevocably begun under the reconstruction Governments as an indispensable adjunct to the extension of civil or political freedom. This measure was the expansion of the public school system, a system which, wherever it has found large establishment, in America, England, or elsewhere, has always followed, not produced, the extension of the suffrage. This measure was, and is, practicable even under the rule of the one-party idea, because while it is the own child of the scheme of free government first, it is almost the only important factor of that scheme which does not obviously antagonize the opposite policy. And yet this opposite policy of free government first is not, and by nature cannot, be the zealous promoter of the free school system that a free government policy is sure to be. For, whereas a policy of freedom first inevitably precipitates and perpetuates an immediate and imperative exigency which can be met only by an entirely ample provision for the whole people's education, the policy of pure government first stands, assuming that ignorance and impurity are much the same thing, promising that ignorance shall, therefore, not participate in government, and casting about now on the right hand and now on the left for expedients to prevent it,—accepting free schools as one, but with a divided credence and a tame enthusiasm. This is why the Southern States to-day have only schools enough for half their school population, and believe they are bearing as heavy a burden of school tax as any people of equal means can, while the States and Territories of the

West, under the ideas of free government first and of two parties of equal rights, are taxing themselves far heavier, even where they have less wealth. The example of some of these Western communities is complete proof that the only sense in which it can be said that the South is doing all it can for public education is that Southern State legislators may be levying as heavy a school tax as they can reasonably hope to collect from a people lulled by the assurance and methods of a policy of pure government first.

It has been much reiterated in the South and re-echoed in the North that the task of public education in the Southern States suffers a unique and unparalleled drawback in the fact that while the negroes enjoy nearly half the outlay of school funds, almost the entire amount of those funds is paid by white tax payers. But assuming this to be quite true in every other regard, there are two points in which it is not so. First, the very alphabet of economics teaches us that all taxes do not rest on those from whom they are collected, but that hundreds of thousands of men who are too poor to be found enumerated on the tax rolls are, for all that, reached by taxation through the medium of rents and similar in-directions. And second, that the fact quoted is far from being unique and unparalleled, and that the only thing peculiar about it is that this lower and unmoneyed mass which, as a matter of good investment in the whole public interest, is in every State in the Union freely accorded an enjoyment of the school funds out of all proportion to its money contributions, happens in the South to be a distinct race which has been working for the last one hundred and fifty years but has been drawing wages only for the last twenty-five.

Another great progressive measure which accompanied and still accompanies the policy of pure government first, though it, too, began under the opposite régime, was one which no policy save absolute anarchy can ever resent. This was the development of material resources, the multiplication of industries, the increase of material wealth. The party that represented the bulk of society's landed and personal wealth, inspired by the only policy it could believe to be honorable or safe, entered into entirely new relations to the public credit of their towns, counties, and States, and gave the energy of a new hope to the making of private fortunes. The successes of this movement have been positively brilliant. The unadorned true stories of Anniston and Chattanooga and Birmingham, of Memphis and Nashville and Atlanta and Richmond, are almost as romantic as they are inspiring, a theme lingered upon by northern tongues and a northern press with a warmth that indicates a recognition of the North's own great gain in the South's prosperity. Nevertheless the very fullness and renown of this success has wrought two grave errors. A sagacious and enterprising few may get rich in any country blessed with natural resources, but no country ever won or can win a large and permanent prosperity save by the prosperity of its poor. No country can ever build a sound prosperity while it tolerates conditions that keep a large lower mass on low wages and long hours. This is the word, not of politicians alone, but of economists and financiers, and this is a fact which the sun-burst of a sudden great material development in many regions of the South has hidden in deep shadow. That Southern men, still so largely under the stress of Southern traditions, should overlook this is largely natural and excusable; but that the North, too, with its so wide and fortunate experience of better conditions, should not see and point out the oversight, seems strange. (It may be doubted that there is a High School between Boston and Denver whose pupils are not taught that the greatest source of the decay of nations is the congestion of wealth and the degradation of poverty. No sufficient offsets for it have yet been found in any scheme of public society, but the search for them is the great quest of the age, and the safety, peace, and prosperity of Europe, the Americas, and the great Australasian colonies is mainly due to the adoption of such noble, though incomplete, offsets as have been found. These are equal rights and protection to opposing parties, free schools for the whole people, manhood suffrage, and a pure, free ballot.

#### REVIEWS.

DR. MUHLENBERG. By William Wilberforce Newton, D. D. [American Religious Leaders. III.] Pp. xi. and 272. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

IN this volume Dr. Newton has not attempted to supersede the biography of Dr. Muhlenberg by Miss Ayres. He has no more than sketched the life of his subject in the first seventy pages, and part even of these anticipate the second half of the book, which discusses Muhlenberg's general influence in the Church life of America. In this we think he was wise, for he has taken up his subject by the side which commends itself most vividly to his own sympathies, and thus makes the more of it.

William Augustus Muhlenberg,—and by the way his name should have appeared in full on the title-page, as he is by no

means the only "Dr. Muhlenberg,"—was both a notable and a lovable man. To the majority of American Christians he is best known as the author of an inferior but very popular hymn. To a smaller but still a large circle he is the Dr. Muhlenberg of St. Johnland and of St. Luke's Hospital. There are not so many, and yet they are not so few, who know him as the St. John or the Frederick Maurice of the American Episcopal Church,—the author of "the Memorial" movement of 1853, whose latest outcome is the letter from the House of Bishops to the other American Churches, suggesting a possible basis of Christian unity. It is in this last capacity that Dr. Newton loves to regard him,—the first Broad Churchman of America who labored for comprehension and union, not on the basis of indifference to usage or doctrine, but on that of mutual charity and forbearance. And there can be no doubt that he has been a lasting influence in the irenic direction within and even without his own Church, although we think Dr. Newton treats this influence with pardonable exaggeration of its extent. If it were as great as he supposes, how has it happened that every change made in the canons of his Church for forty years past has been in the direction of greater exclusiveness, where it has touched on this question at all? In spite of the Memorial and the Letter of the House of Bishops, the Episcopal Church, thanks chiefly to the Oxford movement and its influence, stands in a much less friendly relation to the other Protestant churches than it did when Muhlenberg drafted the Memorial. And this fact stands very much in the way of securing a fair hearing for the Letter.

Dr. Newton very rightly insists that Dr. Muhlenberg is a remarkable instance of the comprehension in the same life and character of things commonly conceived of as contradictory. He always described himself as an Evangelical-Catholic. He appreciated both the individualism of the one school and the institutionalism of the other, and this not by becoming "the niceliest balance half-and-half on record,"—as Carlyle says of Seneca,—but by the strength and positiveness of his character. He was a Ritualist before Ritualism, introducing into the service of his St. Paul's College a variety of form and usage, flowers and incense, which if not according to the *Directorium Anglicanum*, was at least the genuine expression of a mind which appreciated that kind of worship. And yet he was not a High Churchman in the ordinary sense. He preached the Evangelical doctrine, and he did not limit his interest in the nation's religious life to the bounds of his own communion, or unchurch those who walked not with him. Nor was he "a Prayer-Book Churchman" of the old sort. He writes to Bishop-elect Kerfoot of the language of the Ordinal in terms which would have shocked that party. Like Maurice he belonged to no party, but sought to find and appropriate the good of all. He was free from that religious cynicism which undervalues whatever does not belong to its own camp.

In several places Dr. Newton suggests a comparison with Maurice, but not happily when he says (p. 239) that he "was a greater prophet than Maurice on the practical side of life. He avoided dangerous by-currents and eddies; he kept well abreast of the wants of the age, and never loitered in the dark and morbid den of monastic or conventional sanctity." Perhaps we are wrong in supposing that this second sentence is meant to describe what Maurice was. It certainly is vastly wide of the fact. No man of his age was more practical than Frederick Maurice. If he did not start as many institutions as did Muhlenberg, he cut a much broader swath in social reform. The man who infused a new spirit into the relations of labor and capital, who set charity organization on its feet, who started the college for Working Men and Working Women, need not fear comparison with even the founder of St. Johnland. And he had with all this what we miss in Muhlenberg, a scholarship in the literature and the science of his own profession, which astonished even those who were mere students. If Dr. Muhlenberg seems more practical and more abreast of his age, it must be because his mind was more constantly occupied with the thought and the literature of the day, and lacked the steadying power which attends general scholarship. And in this defect, we fear, his example has been unfortunate in his own communion.

The book has an especial interest for Philadelphians. Its subject and its author both are sons of our city, graduates of its University, and the bearers of names honorable in its religious annals. And we have every reason to be satisfied with the manner in which Dr. Newton has done his work. With some defects of repetition and others of exuberance, the book is well written, attractive, and instructive, and worthy of its distinguished subject.

T.

THE STORY OF TONTY. By Mary Hartwell Catherwood. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. 1890.

Mrs. Catherwood's interest in the romantic figures of the early time in America, and the literary skill with which she ren-



ders into a new tale the old incidents and conditions, were both very fully shown in her "The Romance of Dollard." The present romance strikes us as somewhat more slight than that, and perhaps not so effective, but yet a most charming and praiseworthy piece of work. It is the story of the adventures in America of that Henri de Tonty (or Tonti) who was an Italian born, (the son of that Lorenzo, who devised the famous system of annuities that survives in many changed forms under his name), and who became the companion of the Chevalier Robert de La Salle, one of the noblest of the explorers and rulers whom France sent to the New World. Necessarily, the scene of the story is "Western," to us dwellers on the Atlantic Coast; it begins at Montreal, moves then to Fort Frontenac, and ends at the old Fort St. Louis, the "Starved Rock" on the Illinois River, where years after the events sketched in this book the Illinois Indians were besieged and starved into surrender by their implacable enemies the Iroquois. The characters in it include La Salle, who indeed overshadows Tonty, the priest Father Hennepin, the Abbe Cavelier, (brother of La Salle), and two female figures, Jeanne Le Ber, the woman who loved La Salle but had vowed for herself a religious and celibate life, and Barbe, the beautiful niece of La Salle, who is married, near the close of the story, to Tonty, at Fort St. Louis.

These figures, with others that are subordinate, Mrs. Catherwood employs with fine dramatic effect, and the bare suggestion of criticism which we make, is that she has the art to have made much more of them. Her book is brief, hardly more than an extended sketch, and it might well have been twice or thrice as long. A greater elaboration of the details, a longer dwelling upon the great events, would have made a more effective romance; without doubt, in the hands of Scott or Cooper it would have filled a much larger book. Mrs. Catherwood's literary art is so fine, and her dramatic sense so true, that it seems a pity she should not have made the most of her admirably chosen theme,—than which, indeed, Cooper had none and Scott but few, that were better.

Mrs. Catherwood uses persons and events with some freedom, as is usual with the historical romancer, but she usually points out her departure from the true chronology, in foot notes. She ascribes to the book issued in 1797 in Paris ("Last Discoveries of La Salle," etc.), an authority which is not usually conceded to it.

The publishers have made a very charming book of it, in printing, binding, and illustration. The pictures, over twenty in number, are from drawings by Mr. Enoch Ward, and with some which notably fail there are others of admirable art and effect.

**THE DISCOVERY OF THE ANCIENT CITY OF NORUMBEGA.** By Eben Norton Horsford. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1890.

A neatly bound quarto, twelve inches by nine, containing fifty-five uncut pages of good, thick paper, handsomely printed, with broad margins and gilt edged top, generously illustrated with maps and well executed photogravures,—such is the elegant dress of this latest contribution to American antiquarian lore. A similar volume of more than double this number of pages was issued in 1888, entitled "The Discovery of America by Northmen," and the statue of Leif Erikson, its hero, was then erected by the liberality of Professor Horsford in Boston, to attest his belief that the Pine Tree State was once the Northmen's Land of the Vine. Again time, money, intellectual labor, and artistic skill have been lavished on a new discovery in line with the former. Here is an attempt to prove that those hardy, venturesome men, anticipators of Columbus nearly nine hundred years ago, attracted by the oak-burrs of Massachusetts, (see illustration), founded an extensive commercial station with wharves, docks, dams, and what not, (again see illustration), on the Charles River, some miles inland from Boston,—certainly a most auspicious site. Not only has this elegant quarto been gotten up in proof of this rather astonishing theory, and an ode been written in its celebration, but a stately round tower, as veritable and serious as the London Monument, has been erected at Watertown, on the very spot where Prof. Horsford thinks the old town stood. Norumbega, "the lost city of New England," the vain search for which is the theme of one of Whittier's pathetic ballads, is therefore lost no more. Professor Horsford has found its remains and has built the tower to commemorate his achievement. From personal observation by flood and field, from histories and chronicles, from maps and dictionaries, he has compiled his arguments that the name "Norumbega" was but a mispronunciation of "Norvega" or Norway, and was applied indiscriminately to the country, city, fort, and river he has indicated. More than that, he has persuaded the American Geographical Society to endorse his conclusions, and it now only remains for a grateful and believing public to read his book and endorse the Geographical Society.

#### BRIEFER NOTICES.

**THE "Public School Music Course,"** of Boston, designed and elaborated by Charles E. Whiting, formerly teacher of music in the Boston schools, is the completest manual of the kind of which we have knowledge. It is in six parts, designed for scholars from eight to fifteen years of age, and divided in sections for Primary and Intermediate and several grades of Grammar Schools. The system is throughout practical and effective. In each division the instruction is carefully adjusted to the powers of the learners, the "examples" being no less carefully fitted to the respective years, and so nicely is the whole work graded that the scholar pursuing the full course can hardly fail, if possessed of average musical capacity, to be well grounded both in rudiments and practice, and a competent "sight reader," which is the true test of capacity. We might prefer to have less of Mr. Whiting's own composition in the illustrative exercises, but this is a minor point and does not materially affect the excellence of this very thorough and useful work. (D. C. Heath & Co.)

"American Whist Illustrated," by G. W. P., (Houghton, Mifflin & Co.), is an instructive and entertaining hand-book. As cricket is the best game of ball so whist is indisputably the best game of cards. It is, in a sense, more than a game, quite as chess and cricket are more than games. Tom Brown, of Rugby and Oxford fame, declared in his enthusiasm that cricket was not a game, it was an Institution,—and votaries of whist take much the same ground. There are many orders of these votaries however, among those who truly play whist and those who merely play at playing it. G. W. P. is one of the purists, and he is considerable of a martinet as well. He is very severe, has perhaps too little consideration for the bulk of players who regard cards as a relaxation. But he knows whist, we dare say, as well as any man alive and he makes an earnest effort here to show his wisdom with all who are worthy. Great stress is laid in this book on the lately demonstrated importance of the so-called "American leads," elaborated by Mr. Trist of Boston. The "illustrated hands" figured in the last part of the book will also be found very instructive.

"The Dominant Seventh," by Kate Elizabeth Clark, is another example of how next to impossible it is for most people to write about music without becoming more or less hysterical. When the writer is a woman and the medium is fiction, the chances in that direction are greatly increased. Music ought to be wholesome, but its devotees often make it anything but that. As to this "Dominant Seventh," with its hypnotism, its tragic incidents, and its mysterious violinist of transcendent genius who turns out to be a duke in disguise, we cannot see that it is any help in the way of forming a real musical taste. (D. Appleton & Company.)

#### AUTHORS AND PUBLISHERS.

OF the four noteworthy biographical works which have been for some time past in course of preparation, Lord Beaconsfield's Life by Mr. Froude, Lord Idlesleigh's by Mr. Andrew Lang, the Life of Lord Houghton by Mr. Wemyss Reid, and a biography of Mr. Alexander Russel by Mr. G. M. Barnie editor of the *Scotsman*,—the two first mentioned are nearing completion; Lord Houghton's biography will be issued on an early day; while there is a likelihood of the work in connection with the last-mentioned being altogether abandoned.

*The Writer* (Boston), has in hand the compilation of a "Directory of American Writers, Editors, and Publishers," to be published at the earliest possible day.

William Black is at work upon a new novel which will begin its serial course in July. The story will be located chiefly in London, with incidental excursions to the United States.

Frederick Warne & Co. will shortly publish a new story by George Manville Fenn.

Coventry Patmore has written a preface to the new (third) edition of his "Unknown Eros."

A translation by Thomas A. Janvier of "Maria," Jorge Isaac's South American romance, is to be brought out immediately by the Harpers.

Mrs. James T. Fields and Miss Sara O. Jewett are making another trip together, being now at St. Augustine.

Wilfrid Ward is preparing a new edition of his "Oxford Movement," which will contain new and interesting matter.

A Czech landowner, named Tischer, has offered the "Svatabor" of Prague, (a club of Czech authors) the sum of 26,000 gulden toward the erection of a Pantheon in the Wischerad cemetery for men of letters of his own nationality.

"A Dean's Reminiscences" is the title of a book of autobiography announced in London. The author is Dr. Pigon, whose reminiscences comprise a country curacy, three years in a church in Paris, thirteen years in London, six at Doncaster, and thirteen at Halifax.

A new work by "Ouida" is nearly ready, in the press of Chatto & Windus.

A volume on "Oliver Cromwell" has been written by Reginald Palgrave, Clerk of the British House of Commons, and is in publishers' hands.

A collected edition of Philip Bourke Marston's poetical works will be published before long by his friend Mrs. Moulton. It will contain several important poems which have not yet seen the light.

Jules Verne's latest extravaganza deals with a mining speculation at the North Pole.

D. Lothrop & Co. have in hand a book of personal records written by Henry E. Rhodes of the Naval Engineer Corps, called "Round the World with the Blue Jackets."

"Recollections of a Private," by Warren Lee Goss, will be brought out at once by T. Y. Crowell & Co.

Mr. W. D. Howells says: "No book too heavy to hold in one hand has any right to exist, to the exclusion of the same work in the ideal form; and we would have that form the original shape of publication; those who want books to furnish their libraries, not their minds, might wait. As it is now, half a dozen vested interests conspire to give the lover of literature his love first in a guise that makes it a burden."

Scribner & Welford have been appointed agents for the sale in the United States of the Baedeker guide books.

Ledbury, England, near which town Elizabeth Barrett Browning lived as a girl, is about to erect a clock-tower to her memory.

Upon the opening of Dr. von Döllinger's last will and testament, it was found that the great scholar had made one of his nieces his heiress. Small legacies of money were left to all his relations, and his valuable library goes to his much loved University of Munich.

Mrs. Humphrey Ward's new novel, dealing with the experiences of a religious "inquirer," who finally joins the Elsmere Brotherhood, is ready for the publisher.

Chatto & Windus have in press the first two volumes of Justin Huntley McCarthy's "History of the French Revolution." It is to be in four volumes, uniform with his father's "History of the Four Georges."

The Catholic Publication Society will soon publish "Who Was Bruno?" being the first book published in this country giving the Catholic side of that dispute.

Harper & Bros. have in press "Two Years in the French West Indies," containing the results of a voyage by Lafcadio Hearn. It consists of notes taken on a voyage of nearly three thousand miles, devoted to sketches of life, manners, customs, and characteristic types. An appendix to the volume gives some Creole melodies.

#### PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

THE article by Colonel Baron Stoffel, of the French army, on "How Europe may Escape War," of which the Paris correspondent of THE AMERICAN gave a summary in last week's issue, is printed this week in the Boston *Transatlantic*. Its other contents include a touching little story by Daudet, "The Last Lesson," the motif of which is the prohibition of the study of French in the schools of Alsace.

The *Magazine of American History*, Mrs. Lamb's live periodical, gives in every number something fresh,—an excursion into a field not so completely trodden over. In the issue for March there is an interesting account by W. R. Garrett, of the extraordinary controversy concerning "The Northern Boundary of Tennessee," which stretched over sixty-eight years, and is intensely interesting just now in view of the boundary suit recently instituted by Virginia against Tennessee in the Supreme Court of the United States.

Joel Chandler Harris is to succeed Henry W. Grady as editor of the Atlanta (Ga.) *Constitution*.

A new weekly journal, *The Cambridge Review*, is projected, somewhat upon the lines of the old *Harvard Register*.

The *New York Ledger* will publish a set of papers by Herbert Ward and D. D. Bidwell, descriptive of a canoe voyage of 2,500 miles on the Upper Congo. The account will be illustrated from photographs taken by Mr. Ward.

The *Rural New Yorker* has been sold to E. H. Libby, who had been the business manager of the paper, and Mr. Lawson Valentine, of the firm of Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

#### ART.

##### THE WASTED OPPORTUNITY OF THE SOLDIERS' MONUMENTS.

THERE has recently been cast at the foundry of the Messrs. Bureau Bros., in this city, a group which is to form an important part of the soldiers' monument in process of erection at Cleveland, Ohio, a work of such magnitude, and, relatively at least, of so much significance among undertakings of the numerous class to which it belongs as to deserve consideration from those who are interested in these things at all, or who care whether they serve the generations which are to follow ours as types of honor or targets of ridicule. The work in question is an enormous group of soldiers, one of four groups which are to surround the base of the Cleveland monument, the whole to form a sort of hollow square around the central structure. This one represents the infantry, and of course another group will be of cavalry, another of artillery, and another of sailors, just as it is everywhere else, and then there will be the usual shaft a hundred feet high, or such a matter, with the regulation Goddess of Liberty or goddess of something else at the head.

The figures are of enormous bulk, as I have said, being about 8 feet high, and there are a lot of them, nine in all. The casting alone is understood to have cost \$25,000, and when one remembers how small a part of the monument this forms it will be seen that our failure to do these things well can hardly be ascribed to our unwillingness to pay the cost.

For in all seriousness they are not done well. Neither this one, which has been produced by some interprising architect (instead of sculptor), of Cleveland, nor the many others whose authorship is usually to be traced no further than some firm of stone-cutters or contractors. As a work of art the group is absolutely without merit, as substantially all of its kind, so far as I am able to judge, have been from the beginning. Of course this is a very sweeping statement, and it is possible that in some remote hamlet, or secluded corner of battle ground or cemetery, a soldiers' monument, is occasionally to be found which deserves to be exempted from it, but for my own part, and as far as I have been able to judge, I have yet to learn of one which is at all worthy to stand as a memorial of the occasion, or the services which they are erected to commemorate. How many effigies of one sort or another have been displayed for example in the streets of Philadelphia within the last few years which were designed for the battle-field of Gettysburg, and what travesties they have been on all that such monuments ought to be! No; the whole movement for which they stand must go into history as a wasted opportunity; as a chance that has not been improved. And it was such a good opportunity, containing, as it did, the possibilities of a whole school of American Sculpture. Here was a worthy theme, interest in which was so universal as to know virtually no limits geographical or social throughout the land; an interest so deep that money, and money enough, has been raised in almost every city and town in the north to erect something that does duty as a soldiers' monument. But what kind of duty? and to what circle of Archæism will the future student of American civilization assign them?

One comfort we may get out of it all: it makes the world seem very young and to promise unlimited time for development. These monuments of ours are more comparable to those with which the Greeks dotted Greece before the Persian wars, to commemorate their victories over one another, and which their more cultivated successors made building blocks out of, than anything that has been set up since. And that such things are still possible; that with a few exceptional hillocks left out of the question the general level of attainment has not become higher, makes the couple of thousand years, or so, that have elapsed since Marathon seem very small, and art itself very much like geology, after all.

L. W. M.

#### NOTES.

The Exhibition at the Academy of the Fine Arts is nearly over. It will close on Thursday next, the 6th inst. We observe, by the way, some notes of dissent from the criticisms (in THE AMERICAN, and by many of the individual artists in interviews published in *The Press*) upon the award of the Temple gold medal to Mr. Howe's "Return of the Herd at Evening." "Is it not a 'figure' picture?" demands an artist, who defends the award. "Must the figures be those of rational creatures, necessarily? Do not the cattle, instinct with life, answer the requirements?" The *Studio*, of New York, apparently answers all these questions for itself in the affirmative. It says: "It is one of the noblest, and at the same time the most beautiful cattle-pieces that we know. . . . The justice of the award [to it] has been contested on the ground that the picture is not a figure-subject; but it seems to us 'twere to consider too curiously to consider so, since we suppose the term figure-subject to be used merely in distinction to landscape and still-life. . . . However, no one would dispute



Mr. Howe's right to a medal of some kind; we wish that the favor bestowed upon this picture—worth a thousand of Paul Potter's bulls—could be followed up by the purchase of the picture for the Pennsylvania Academy—sorely, sorely in need of good pictures."

The Art Club will follow the Academy. A circular announces that an exhibition of architectural drawings, decorative sculpture, etc., will be held in the galleries of the club-house, beginning March 27th and continuing until April 17th. The exhibits are to be arranged in three groups, the first of which is for original architectural designs or models; drawings and sketches of foreign and domestic architectural subjects and a special exhibit, making, so far as possible, a representative collection of drawings made in the principal architectural schools of Europe and America. Drawings will not be rejected by reason of their having been exhibited before. The second group will include examples of decoration, sculpture, and carving in any material, metal work, worked or painted tapestries, studies in decoration, and sketches and cartoons for stained glass. A loan exhibit comes under the last group. It is to comprise antique objects of artistic interest, including clocks, furniture, plate, jewelry, locksmith work, armor, weapons, needlework or stuffs, carvings in wood, stone, or ivory, plaster casts of same, tiles or painted glass, leather work and book binding. The Jury of Selection and Hanging Committee consists of Wilson Eyre, Jr., Chairman; Frank Miles Day, Walter Cope, Amos J. Boyden, and George C. Mason, Jr.

The *Magazine of Art* (London and New York: Cassells), for March, has for its frontispiece a "Goupilgravure" of a picture of a shepherd with his flock returning by moonlight from the pastures, by Charles Jacque. There are many illustrations, as usual, in connection with the letter-press, and some other notable reproductions of pictures old and new, one of the former being Sir Thomas Lawrence's portrait of the Duchess of Kent, (mother of Queen Victoria), while in the latter list is a picture by Frank D. Millet, "Rook and Pigeon." The notes on American Art, at the close of the number are very satisfactory in their range and make-up. Introducing the notice of the Exhibition (New York) of the Water Color Society, it is said that, "There must be ten persons who like water-colors to one who understands oils, and very certainly there are ninety-nine who have purses for comparatively cheap pictures to one who has a well-filled pouch."

The bronze statue of General Robert E. Lee, to be set up in Richmond, Va., is expected to arrive from Paris in a few weeks, and to be unveiled in the spring. It is by the French sculptor, Mercié. It is announced that in order to avoid any difficulty as to an import duty, the Lee Monument Association, which has procured and paid for the monument and statue, will present it to the State of Virginia. A deed of conveyance has already been prepared by the Association, and by the time the statue is shipped from Paris will be formally recorded at Richmond.

#### CRITICAL AND OTHER EXCERPTS.

##### AN ESTIMATE OF BRUNO.

William R. Thayer, in *Atlantic Monthly*.

THE study of the works of Giordano Bruno, which has been revived and deepened during this century, is one evidence of a more general toleration, and of a healthy desire to know the opinions of all kinds of thinkers. One reason why Bruno has attracted modern investigators is because so many of his doctrines are in tune with recent metaphysical and scientific theories; and it seems probable that, for a while at least, the interest awakened in him will increase rather than diminish, until, after the re-publication and examination of all his writings, a just estimate of his speculations shall have been made. Much will undoubtedly have to be thrown out as obsolete or fanciful; much as flippant and inconsistent; much as vitiated by the cumbrous methods of scholasticism and the tedious fashion of expounding philosophy by means of allegory and satire. But after all the chaff has been sifted and all the excrescences have been lopped off, something precious will remain.

And see how conflicting are the verdicts passed upon Bruno. Sir Philip Sidney and that fine group of men who just preceded the great Shakespearean company were his friends, and listened eagerly to his speculations. Hegel says: "His inconstancy has no other motive than his great-hearted enthusiasm. The vulgar, the little, the finite, satisfied him not; he soared to the sublime idea of the Universal Substance." The French philosophers of the eighteenth century debated whether he were an atheist; the critics of the nineteenth century declare him to be a pantheist. Hallam thought that, at the most, he was but a "meteor of philoso-

phy." Berti ranks him above all the Italian philosophers of his epoch, and above all who have since lived in Italy except Rosmini, and perhaps Gioberti. Some have called him a charlatan; some a prophet. Finally, the present Pope, in an allocution which has been read recently from every Romish pulpit in Christendom, says that "his writings prove him an adept in pantheism and in shameful materialism, imbued with coarse errors, and often inconsistent with himself;" and that "his talents were to feign, to lie, to be devoted wholly to himself, not to bear contradiction, to be of a base mind and wicked heart."

Bruno's character, like his philosophy, offers so many points for dispute that it cannot cease to interest men. He is so human—neither demi-god nor demon, but a creature of perplexities and contradictions—that he is far more fascinating than those men of a single faculty, those monotones whom we soon estimate and tire of. His vitality, his surprises, stimulate and excite us. In an age when the growing bulk of rationalism casts a pessimistic shadow over so many hopes, it is encouraging to know that the rationalist Bruno saw no reason for despair; and when some persons are seriously asking whether life be worth living, it is inspiring to point to a man to whom the boon of life was so precious and its delights were so inexhaustible. At any period, when many minds, after exploring all the avenues of science, report that they perceive only dead, unintelligent matter everywhere, it must help some of them to learn that Bruno beheld throughout the whole creation and to every creature the presence of an infinite and endless Unity, of a Soul of the world, whose attributes are power, wisdom, and love. He was indeed "a God-intoxicated man." Aristotle, Ptolemy, and Aquinas spun their cobwebs round the border of the narrow circle in which, they asserted, all truth, mundane and celestial, was comprehended; Bruno's restless spirit broke through the cobwebs, and discovered limitless spaces, innumerable worlds, beyond. To his enraptured eyes all things were parts of the One, the Ineffable. "The Inquisition and the stake," says Mr. Symonds, "put an end abruptly to his dream. But the dream was so golden, so divine, that it was worth the pangs of martyrdom. Can we say the same for Hegel's system, or for Schopenhauer's, or for the encyclopædic ingenuity of Herbert Spencer?"

##### THE EDUCATION OF THE POSTAL-SERVICE.

Edward Everett Hale, in *The Cosmopolitan*.

HERE is a good illustration of what I am always trying to illustrate in these pages,—the success of work for the people when it is done by the people; when such success would be impossible if done as by a monarch,—from above below. If people would only understand that America is America, and that a republic is not a monarchy! In this case the people, having the people to educate, educate the people. Jonathan, having his farm to cultivate, finds muck in one part of it, carries it to another, and grows rich. But some imperial majesty, say Louis-George-Frederic-William, who at present represents the ancient house of the Big-Bow-wows, makes some gifts from his royal bounty over to some poor subjects he has, and he finds that he grows poor and is in debt to the Jews all the time. These transactions of his majesty appear in certain books which are called statistics. Jonathan's transaction is an every-day affair to him, and not even his "superintendent of education" alludes to it in an annual document weighing three pounds and six ounces.

And then such people as Franklin Pierce point out to you that paternal government does not work well and wastes money. None of us who believe in democracy ever said it did work well. But Jonathan's plan is the fraternal plan, not the paternal, and he is very indifferent to the statistics. Nothing shows the failure of statistics more than their inability to register the untold comfort which happens when one hand washes another; as when the muck is carried across from one part of the farm to another; or when a boy eats an omelet made from the eggs which he brought in from the barn. The omelet is a very good omelet, but no Commissioner of Agriculture tells an admiring world of the production of eggs of that morning.

So soon as government ceases to be government from above, and is merely "the common sense of each" working out in universal law, we find a hundred such instances where the united strength of all men can do that which one man can not do alone, and which is better done by the hands of all than by any selected number. When one says this in a constitution of government, or in an essay on government, everybody approves,—and perhaps even skips the passage as commonplace; and, when one does the thing, as it has been done in this matter of carrying the dictionaries and the magazines, it becomes matter of course so completely that nobody remembers that it is done at all. But when one proposes it as a new enterprise,—as in my city of Boston they are proposing now that the city of Boston may make its own electricity, exactly as I believe it does make its own brooms,—then dainty

people, or those whom I call gilt-edged people, turn over in their beds, and, with as loud a voice as they can, they say "Socialism!" or "Communism!" or "Anarchy!" Meanwhile, we must thank the good sense of our fathers that this sort of socialism or anarchy got itself introduced so far that all our children can be well educated, that all our crazy people can be well taken care of, that our ships do not have to pay any lighthouse fee, and that a letter for Big Bone Lick, a hundred and fifty miles from any railway in Montana, gets carried for us as cheaply as if it went around the corner to Miss Merrill in Linwood Avenue. If the fathers had not done all this for us, the gilt-edged people would cry out "Socialism!" when we proposed to do it now; and those of them who had the most audacity would organize a kind corporation which should do it for us as badly as the Western Union carries my telegrams for me now.

#### AMERICAN LITERARY STANDARDS HIGH.

Wm. D. Howells, in Harper's Magazine.

WE say in all seriousness, that in this new country, drunk with prosperity and besotted as it is with material ideals, the literary standard is as high as ever it was in the world; and that the literary performance is of an excellence which is only not conspicuous because it is so general. If any one doubts it, let him compare an average piece of fiction in the *Atlantic Monthly* or the *Century*, or *Scribner's*, or *Harper's* with an average piece of fiction in *Blackwood's* or *Fraser's* or *Tinsley's* of fifty years ago; or an average essay in one of our periodicals with an average essay of the best English time; or an average poem of our day with an average poem of the "splendid and unsurpassed literature of the past"; or an average review in the Sunday papers with the "really capable criticism" of the heyday of English reviewing.

#### PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

- A GERMAN READER, for Beginners in School or College. With notes and vocabulary. By Edward S. Joyner, M. A. Pp. 277. \$0.90. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co.
- HELPS FOR DAILY LIVING. By M. J. Savage. Pp. 150. \$1.00. Boston: Geo. H. Ellis.
- THE SIGNS OF THE TIMES. By M. J. Savage. Pp. 187. \$1.00. Boston: Geo. H. Ellis.
- PETERBOROUGH. English Men of Action. By William Stebbing. Pp. 228. \$0.60. London and New York: Macmillan & Co.
- THOMAS JEFFERSON'S VIEWS ON PUBLIC EDUCATION. By John C. Henderson. Pp. 387. \$1.75. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons.
- ALEXANDER. [Great Captains.] By Theodore Ayrault Dodge. Pp. 692. \$5.00. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.
- WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT. [American Men of Letters.] By John Bigelow. Pp. 355. \$1.25. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

#### DRIFT.

THE mackerel fishermen of Massachusetts are much interested in a newly developed fishery on the Coast of Africa. The *New Bedford Standard* of the 24th ult. says:

"The long-talked about consignment of African mackerel arrived at Provincetown, Friday night, by packet schooner *Lucknow*, coming from Cape Town via London in steamers. The consignment, which consists of thirty-three casks, holding about three barrels each, was opened for inspection by the public, Saturday morning, at the packing sheds of the Union Fish Company. A large crowd of local fishermen examined the Africans, and all unite in pronouncing them mackerel fully equal to or better than our northern fish. The fish have been many days on the way, and open out sweet and in first-class order. In quality the fish are about 13 to 15 inches long, and the flesh firm and white. The only way they differ from American mackerel is in the stripes, which come a little lower down on the sides of the fish, something like the bull's eye mackerel caught on this coast several years ago. They are much superior to mackerel caught on the American coast in the early spring. One thousand dollars was offered for the lot unopened at Boston, and refused. Everything goes to show that scientific men and shoal water sailors, who have hardly been out of sight of land, were sadly mistaken in their predictions that Captain Si Chace, in the schooner *Alice*, was going on a wild goose chase. To Provincetown, and to Captain Chace in particular, is rightfully due the honor of opening up an entirely new mackerel fishing grounds over 8,000 miles from home."

The *Montreal Star*, of Tuesday, says: "If the agreement between Sir Julian Pauncefote and Mr. Blaine, reported from Washington, be correctly stated it will not be received without murmurs by British Columbian sealers. The payment by the United States of damages for past seizures of Canadian vessels in Behring Sea, and the exclusion of Canadians from that sea for the future, is a practical concession of the American claims and their right to make Behring a closed sea. Perhaps these are the best terms Sir Julian could obtain. If so, the settlement is another diplomatic success for Mr. Blaine. But it would be premature, however, to condemn the arrangement till we learn how other cognate questions have been settled. Compromises evidently had to be made by both the high contracting parties, and should the negotiations result in an amicable settlement, fairly just all round, there will be every reason to rejoice. But if, as was asserted in the California press some time ago, the Alaska company is run largely by British capi-

tal, the difficulty is really not between Great Britain and the United States, but both against Canada. This is an instance in point as to British investments in American enterprises, which puts a new face on the negotiations not quite satisfactory to Canada."

The statistics of the British tin plate industry for 1889 furnish food for thought for patriotic Americans. The exports exceeded those of any previous year in the history of the trade, mounting up to a total of more than 430,000 tons, valued at over £6,000,000. The following table shows where these exports went:

To	Tons.	Values.
Holland, . . . . .	3,795	£56,234
Germany, . . . . .	4,179	62,174
France, . . . . .	4,322	62,696
Australasia, . . . . .	6,630	91,728
British North America, . . . . .	15,385	214,338
United States, . . . . .	336,692	4,674,455
Other countries, . . . . .	59,630	862,873
<b>Totals.</b>	<b>430,623</b>	<b>£6,030,496</b>

From this it appears that we took from Great Britain more than 77 per cent. of all her shipments of tin plate, to the value of \$23,350,000. If we regarded it as the best use to make of American money to build up industries on alien soil, we should take satisfaction in observing how thoroughly this work was being done.—*Boston Journal*.

"All signs," reports the *Cleveland (O.) Leader* "point now to an unprecedentedly early opening of navigation on the lakes. Vessels are fitting out already in some ports, and there is no ice between Buffalo and Chicago which would seriously interfere with powerful steamships even now. Only an uncommonly cold and stormy March can keep the lake fleet in winter quarters later than April 1, and the coming season of navigation is likely to be a full month longer than usual."

Modern chemistry shows that the medical lore of the ancient herbalists had a much sounder basis than had been imagined. In 1597 watercresses were recommended for the cure of scurvy and scrofula. Chemists now say that the cress contains sulphur, phosphorus, iodine, and iron—substances that are known to be actual antidotes to scrofula. In John Wesley's Herbal, which he prized so highly, wild carrots are recommended for asthma, and we now hear that they do promote expectation, and thus relieve that troublesome complaint. Nettles are prescribed for blood-spitting, goosegrass for cancer, and cobwebs for ague, and chemistry finds in each of these "simples" properties now recognized as useful in the several diseases.

The *London Athenæum* (whose special opportunity of early information we do not know), now says that Dr. Peters, the African explorer, whose slaughter with all his companions was announced, contradicted, confirmed, denied, reaffirmed, redented so many times, is at length authentically reported alive and well. He was, it says, in Ukamba, a country lying a considerable distance to the south of Mount Kenia and occupied for some time back by the British East Africa Company. He appears to have traveled in the footsteps of Messrs. Pigott and Smith, officials of that company.

There will be another hotly contested by-election in England. "Death has made a vacancy in North St. Pancras, which is one of the most representative of the London constituencies," says the *London correspondent* of the *New York Times*. "It comprises the densely populated district known as Kentish town, inhabited by artisans and tradesman classes. It was Liberal by 465 in 1885, but the following year it gave 261 majority against Home Rule. Now there seems a chance that the Gladstonians will regain it, after a contest which promises to be one of memorable excitement and exertion, and the effect of the garbled editions of the [Parnell Commission] report on public opinion will be studied here with anxious attention."

Queen Victoria, says the *New York Sun's* London correspondent, about a dozen years ago received from an Indian potentate a present of a big parcel of shawls, which she has since used with characteristic economy as wedding presents to aristocratic brides to whom she was bound to give something. The Queen's Indian shawls have long been known in fashionable society. They were beautiful and costly, but the knowledge of how cheaply the Queen had become possessed of them somehow deprived them of the value which otherwise should have attached to the royal gifts. Prospective brides now hear with delight that the shawl supply, apparently inexhaustible, has at length given out, and the other day the Queen presented Miss Fitzroy, on her marriage, a diamond pendant containing a lock of her Majesty's hair, a Brussels lace veil, and a portrait in oil of the royal giver.

VICK'S FLORAL GUIDE is one of the handsomest catalogues published. The illustrations are intended to give the reader a correct idea of the plant or flower illustrated. The grossly exaggerated, absurd pictures which deface so many catalogues and reflect upon the integrity of those who issue them, do not appear in this. The list of potatoes is good, and several new kinds are offered, among them the Early Market. It is said to be of the Ohio Class and is especially recommended for early marketing as the quality is excellent in the early stages of growth or "unripe" condition. The entire catalogue is one that the *E. N. Y.* greatly commends to the examination of its readers.—*Rural New-Yorker*, New York, N. Y. Send 10 cents (which amount may be deducted from first order) to JAMES VICK, seedsman, Rochester, N. Y., for copy of GUIDE.

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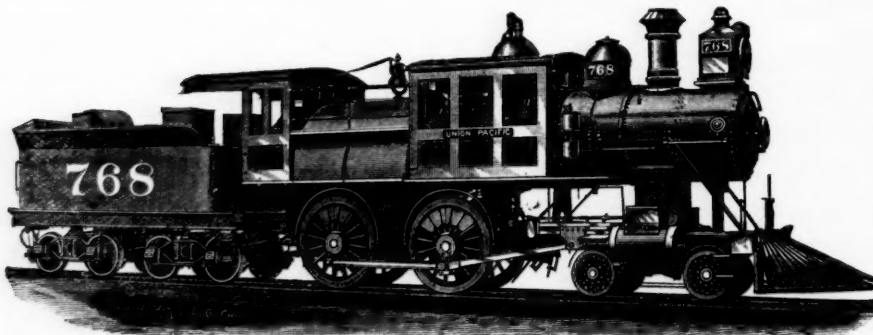
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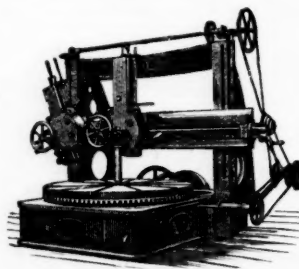
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